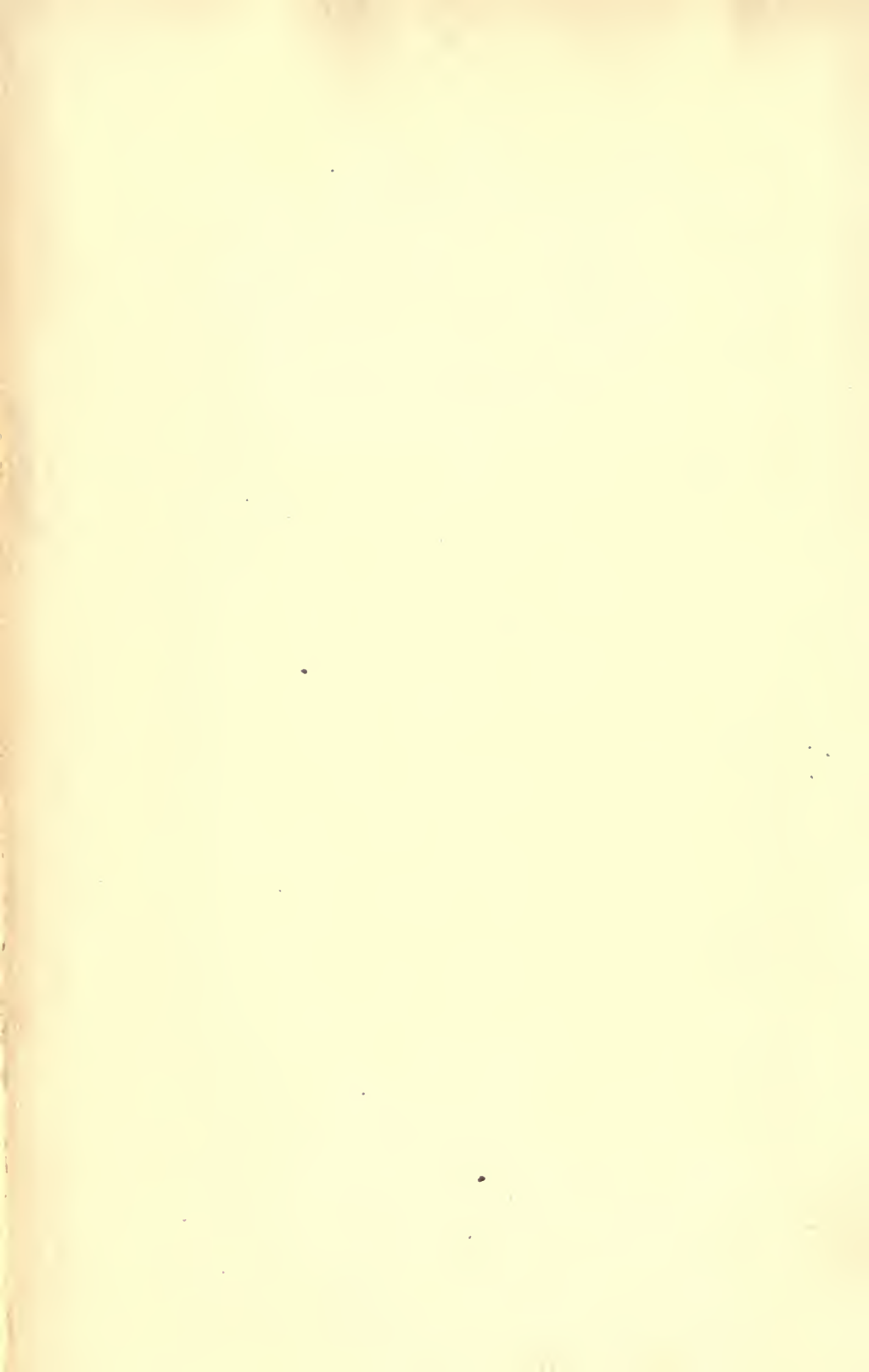


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PRICE'S MAP OF BOSTON. 1769

From an original copy in the possession of the City of Boston

is in America, under the Lat. of 60 and
the Ocean by a great Number of
is a fine and a good Light House
is accordingly Delightful, with the
well agreeing with the English
and are a Character of a fine

Bartons Point.
Long Bay Road.

Charles River

Ferry to Charles-Town
is about half Mile over -

NODDLE'S ISLAND
and HOG ISLAND
Included in
WARD 2

HARBOUR

Donnet Street Meeting built 1740.
 a house, a half m. large brick building Worshy of the Cong.
 Presby. who in the Year 1740. Gave it to the Town for the use of a
 School and Sabbath School.  page 4 Mr. Homphreys

A New Plan of y^e Great Town of BOSTON in New En
With the many Additionall Buildings, & New Streets, to the Year



To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher
Capt General and Governour in Chief
of His Majesties Province of
the Massachusetts Bay New
England in New England
and Vice Admiral of the same
this Plan of the great Town
of BOSTON is humbly
dedicated by Yr Excellencies
Most obedient & humble Serv
William Price

[illegible]

Scale of $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile.

POSTSCRIPT EXPLANATION.

Planted An. Dom. 1630

The Old Meeting ..	1630
Old North M....	1650
Old South M.....	1660
Annabaptist M. -	1680
Kings Chapel Foun ^d	1686
Brattle St M. ::	1699
2 ^d akers M.	1710
New North M.....	1714
New South M. -	1715
French M. . .	1716
New N ^o Brick M.	1720

a. Town House.
b. governours House.
c. South Grammar School.
d. North Grammar School.
e. Writings School.
f. Writings School.
g. Alms House.
h. Bridewell.
i. Towns Graveny
The North Military Company
engaged by the Prince of Orange.
From N^o 1 to 16.
North. New. and. Thatch. Town.

Great Fires.

First.....	165
Second....	167
Third.....	167
Fourth....	168
Fifth.....	169
Sixth.....	169
Seventh..	170
Eighth....	171

Gen^l

small Po	
st...	264
mid...	266
rd...	267
th...	268
th...	270
th...	272
ench	2730

M. Christo Church Founded
N. Irish Meeting House 1732
O'Hollis Street Meeting
P. Trinity Church Founded 1739
Q. Lynde Street Meeting (built
R. Work House built 1738)
T. Faneuil Hall & Mar-
rius Founder Peter Par-
Markes Day Dec 1501

England
p. 17

the ... of ...
is accordingly ...
well agreeing with ...
which are ...

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no 7

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no 10

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THE
BOSTONIAN
SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS.

VOL. 9



BOSTON
OLD STATE HOUSE

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*From the Original in the possession of the City
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GRAVESTONE OF MADAM SARAH KNIGHT, NEW
LONDON, CONN. 101

From a photograph.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST FOR A MAP OF THE "FOUR
NEW ENGLAND STATES," 1785 129

*From the Original in the Collections of the Bos-
tonian Society.*

ASSESSORS' "TAKING-BOOKS"

OF THE

TOWN OF BOSTON, 1780

Taking Book Ward No.

1780.

Mems	Names	Falls	Rents	Regist	Homes	Peony	Lease	Boat
James	Goodridge	1	15					Boat built
Sam ^{ee}	Emmes	1	30					Smith
Leph ^h	Hart	1	20					Shipwright
Ralph	Hart	1						Do
Jon ^{as}	Cogswell	1	20					Shoemaker
Sam ^{ee}	McClary	1	10					Taylor
Joshua	Bowles	1	10					Carver
Joseph	Tehon	1	150					French
John	Care	1	20					Sexton
John	Adams	1	20					Housewife
Joseph	Walker	1	15					Mastmaker
Thomas	Adams	1	20					House
Josiah	Snelling	1	25					Bakers
Joab	Hunt	1	10					Housewife
Widow	Holmes		60					Genl Woman
Wm	Jepson	1	10					Taylor
Nath ^a	Heath	1	20					Mason
Josiah	Holland	0	20					Caulker
Sam ^{ee}	Harris	1	20					Mastmaker
Henry	Truman	1	10					Caulker
John	Richardson	1	20					Shipwright
John	Richardson	1						Do
John	Robinson	1	25					Do



ASSESSORS' "TAKING BOOKS"

OF THE

TOWN OF BOSTON, 1780



IN the publication of the following lists of names of citizens of Boston as contained in the "Taking Books" of the Assessors of the Town for the year 1780, the Bostonian Society may well feel that it is contributing new and interesting material to the local history of our city at an important period, — namely, during the progress of the Revolutionary War.

These lists practically form a directory of the Town for the year 1780, thereby antedating the first issue of the Boston Directory by nine years; they are also interesting as containing so large a number (over two thousand) of names of residents, and in eight of the twelve Wards, their occupations also. This would indicate that although the new nation was at a critical

period in its struggle with the mother country, yet, after making due allowance for the men Boston had furnished for the Continental army, and "the many drafts . . . for Men of War and Privateers," * few if any of whom seem to be included in these lists, the population of the Town was then about ten thousand ; and judging by the number of persons engaged in trade and the mechanic arts, we may also conclude that Boston was in a fairly prosperous condition, notwithstanding the troublous times.

At the Town Meeting held March 21, 1780, a committee reported "That in consideration of the impoverished State of the Town, there should be five Assessors and no more to be paid out of the Town Treasury ;" but this was "passed in the Negative," and the citizens decided "to make choice of Seven." On "sorting the votes," it appeared that "Deacon Jonathan Brown, Gyles Harris, Esq^r., Mr. Samuel Dyer, Cap^t. John Pulling, Mr. William Lowder, Mr. John R. Sigorney, Mr. Moses May were chose Assessors for the Year ensuing."

We have not attempted to estimate the equivalent of the amount assessed in this tax at present values. The old issue of the Continental currency had about reached its lowest point. How great that depreciation was is

* See Record Commissioners' Reports, XXVI: pp. 19, 20, etc. In December, 1780, the Town was called on to supply 180 men for the Continental army. (*Ibid.*, p. 161.)

shown by the report of a special committee at this March meeting, who after stating that the Town Treasurer had not been paid for his services in 1775 and 1778, and "for the Last Six Months," but who would have received £210 in 1778, "supposing Money had been Good . . . as formerly," confessed that they were "at a loss . . . but were of Opinion that he ought to receive for his services for Six Months ending the first day of this Month—the Sum of nineteen hundred & fifty Pounds,"* which "Passed in the affirmative."

The Provincial Legislature, in accordance with Congressional instructions, ordered a new issue of bills in May, 1780, but these did not obtain a circulation until August 1, and in a few months they too had depreciated so that two dollars in notes of the new emission were worth but one "Spanish mill'd Dollar."

* We quote the language of the vote as it stands on the record (printed in the Record Commissioners' Report, XXVI: p. 119). This amount was worth less than \$500 in specie on April 1. Felt, in his "Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency," prints (p. 186) a table sent by the Massachusetts authorities to the Continental Congress, showing the monthly depreciation from January, 1777, to January, 1780, as indicated by the "Current Prices Monthly" of various articles. By this it appears that a pound of beef, which sold at fourpence in January, 1777, brought eight shillings, sixpence, in January, 1780; Indian corn had advanced during the same period from four shillings a bushel to eight pounds, and wool from three shillings a pound to sixty. Between June 9 and July 17, the town voted £550,000 for "the Sole purpose of carrying on the War," and August 1, the appropriation for the salaries of the Assessors was £20,700. Many examples of votes of equally bewildering amounts might be cited from the contemporary records.

The lists are not dated, but it seems probable that they are based on the new emission. It is a singular fact that in the autumn of 1780 hard money had become plenty in the town, but "while it passed freely among the people, not a dollar of it could be found in the State Treasury, because a thousand claims stood there unsatisfied, and ready to seize upon it as soon as its sound was heard."*

It is unfortunate that the citizens are listed by Wards and not by streets, but with this arrangement we must be content, and in this connection reference is made to the map which forms the frontispiece of this volume. It is a reproduction of the map of Boston issued with the Directory of 1789, and we may be certain that the town presents the same lay-out as in 1780, and that there was also no change in the ward-lines.

The arrangement of the columns in the original manuscript, and the spelling and abbreviations, both of names and occupations, have been carefully followed, without regard to evident errors; in most cases, however, the correction to be made will readily suggest itself to the reader. While an alphabetical order would doubtless have made it easier to consult the lists, that of the "Taking Books" has not been altered, as it very probably indicates proximity of residence.

* See Felt, as cited, pp, 190, 191, and 196, where a table will be found giving the comparative values of the two emissions.

The lists are suggestive of the great changes in the business of Boston during the century and a quarter since they were compiled. Taking the first four Wards, for example, which perhaps well represent the principal business quarter at that time, though it had already begun to move southward, of the 527 names recorded, 145, or more than one-fourth, are of those who were engaged in maritime trades or industries, not reckoning persons called "joyners," blacksmiths, sawyers, carvers, etc., some of whom were very likely more or less employed in ship-building, while only 40 in the same Wards are "traders" or "merchants." In two or three cases the Assessor, instead of giving the occupation, after the name, tells us that the person was a "Frenchman."

Here and there occasional comments give an attractive flavor, if we may be pardoned the expression, to what might otherwise seem somewhat monotonous: we learn, for instance, that one man makes "Leather breeches;" another is an "old joyner;" still another, an "old captain;" that Peter Duplisses keeps horses, Timothy Pike sells rum, and Jacob Clough tobacco, while Capt. Bennett keeps lodgers and also sells rum; John Moulton "keeps a little shop," Major Greenough is "sickly," and Patrick Connolly lives "near the Liberty Tree."

Familiar names of families long identified with the history of Boston appear — Adams, Appleton, Bowdoin,

Eliot, Hancock, Lowell, Otis, Parkman, Sumner, Revere, and many more — but no attempt has been made to connect them with those now living. Middle names had not come into vogue when these citizens were christened, for in these four Wards we find only a scant half-dozen. We are tempted to mention some of the many Bostonians of prominence at that period, who are listed, but must content ourselves with the briefest reference to two or three, notable in some special direction in their day, and whose names are even now often on our lips: Robert Newman, the sexton of old Christ Church, was living in Ward 1; "Johnny" Tileston, the schoolmaster of Ward 2, beloved and feared by North-end boys, is wielding his ferrule; and Robert Lash, whose name is borne to-day by a Masonic Lodge in Chelsea, and Edward Hart, the builder of the Constitution, both of Ward 2, are winning fame as shipwrights. We have limited our comments to the first four Wards, but the others are not less interesting. For the rest we must leave the reader to make his own selection.

The lists are published through the courtesy of the Board of Assessors of the City of Boston, and especial acknowledgment should be given to Charles E. Folsom, Esq., Secretary of the Board, who has rendered valuable assistance in their publication.

ASSESSORS' "TAKING BOOKS" OF THE TWELVE
WARDS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, 1780.

WARD 1.

Mens	Names	Polls	Rents	* Negroes	* Horses	* Oxen and Cows	Occupation
James	Goodridge	1	15				Boat builder
Sam ^l	Emmes	1	30				Smith
Zeph ^h	Hart	1	20				Shipwright
Ralph	Hart	1					"
Jon ^a	Cogswell		20				Shoemaker
Sam ^l	McClary	1	10				Taylor
Joshua	Bowles	1	10				Carver
Joseph	Tohon	1	150				French
John	Cade	1	20				Sexton
John	Adams	1	20				Housewright
Joseph	Walker	1	15				Mastmaker
Thomas	Adams	1	20				Housewright
Josiah	Snelling	1	30				Baker
Joab	Hunt	1	10				Housewright
Widow	Holmes		60				Gent woman
Wm.	Jepson	1	10				Taylor
Natha	Heath	1	20				Mason
Josiah	Holland		20				Caulker
Sam ^l	Harris	1	20				Mastmaker
Henry	Truman	1	10				Caulker
John	Richardson	1	20				Shipwright
John	Richardson, Jun.	1					Do
John	Roberson	1	15				Do
Thomas	Richardson	1	20				Shwright
Henry	Swift	1	15				Shipwright
William	Barker		20				Sawyer

* No Negro slaves, horses, oxen or cows are listed, although columns are provided in the books for such entries, but it will be seen that to several names in the lists is added the word 'negro.' The decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, says Fiske, that a clause in the Constitution of the State adopted in 1780, had "worked the abolition of slavery," perhaps explains the omission. The figures in the columns following the number of polls are believed to indicate pounds, shillings and pence. — ED.

Natha	Alley	No 2	1	Swright
Wm	Clough	1	50	Smith
Elias	Thomas	2	120	Sail mak
Thomas	Roberts	1	15	Caulker
Saml	Sumner	1	10	S. Maker
Saml	Burrill	1	50	Smith
John	Clough		20	Do
Joseph	Euistis	1	30	Hwright
John	Hutchinson	1	15	Labou[r]er
John	Hutchinson Jun	1	15	No 4 Do
Nathan	Hancock	1	25	No 10 Hwright
Robert	Newman	1		Sexton
Thos	Barker	1	30	Quarter Marstr
Samll	Haynes	1	50	Sea Cpt
Thos	Snow	1	70	Trader
Francis	Hall	1		Distillr
Robert	Millins	1		Sugar Bakr
John	Rand	1	50	Trader
Cpt William	Brown	1	40	Ditto
Samll	Townsend	1	20	Block maker
John	Colesworthy, No 5			
Samll	Clough	2	40	Gun Smith
Alexr	Little	1		S. Baker
Jona	Farnun	1	35	Barbor
James	Dodge	1	25	Taylor
John Ronshon	Sigourney	1	40	Distiller
John	Guilicker	1	40	Sea Cpt
Doct	Goins	1	20	
John	Brown	1		Mason
Larrabee	Eads	1	30	Glazer
William	Brown	1	20	H wright
Robert	Miller	1	15	Labourer
Francis	Booth	1	20	Shoe Makr
Ebenr	Larkin	1	20	Boat man
Joseph	Roby	1	50	Tinnman
Henry	Roby	1		Do
Francis	Willman	1	15	Caulker
Silas	Atkins	1	50	Trader
Jerimiah	Hackaday, gon	1	30	Sea Cpt
John	Otis	1	30	Cabin ^t maker
Cpt Thos	Adams Junr	1	60	Sea Cpt. & Trader
Wm,	Payne	1	40	Gentill man
Daniel	Rogers	1	7 : 10	Keeps Cannadys shop
Samll	Appleton	1	15	House wright
John	Hotty	1	30	Trader
John	Phillips	1	15	Ship writ
Elijah	Peck	1	10	Watch makr
Thomas	Clough	1		
John	Clough	2	50	Brazr
Joshua	Bentley	1	15	Clark to Conll Burbeck
Jona	Brown	1	40	Afsesor
Josiah	Brown	1	15	Hattr

WARD 2.

Thomas	Jarvis	1	Barber
Ebenr	Parsons*	1 50	Mercht
Abraham	Hayward	1 15	Cabinet makr
Ebenezer	Chandlor	1 12 : 10	Ship wt
Robert	Chafey	1 30	Brewer
Joseph	Clark	2 100	Ship wt
John	Moulton	1 10	Keeps little shop
Joseph	Jarrod	1 30	Keeps boarders
Elijah	Davis	1 12 : 10	Cooper
Thomas	Stevenfon	1 20	Keeps shop
Capt	Bennett	20	Keeps lodgers sells rum
William	Page	1 20	Ship wt
John	Page	1	At sea
Alden	Bafs	1 50	Agent
Richard	Cochran	1 15	Seaman
Benja	Burt	2 60	Goldfmith
John	Hooton	1 60	Oar maker
John	Hooton, Junr	1	Ditto
James	Cox	1	Fisherman
Mofes	Tyler	20	Old &c
Titus	Morgin	1 80	Ship wt
Edwd	Grant	1 30	Boat builder
Joseph	Dyer	1 20	Cooper
Joseph	Dyer, Junr	1 10	Ditto
John	Lambert Junr	1 20	Houfe wt
Thomas	Bradford	1 30	Sells rum &c
	Stokes	1	Nailr
William	Dyer	1	Cooper
Capt Edwd	Burbeck	20	
John	Burbeck	1	Single man
Thomas	Freecker	1 10	Boat buildr
Alexdr	Lord	20	Labr
William	Minzie	1 12 : 10	Ship wt
Thomas	Bentley	30	Old
Ebenezer	Ruddock	1 7 : 10	
Thomas	Stoddard	1 25	Boat builder
Jacob	Rhodes	1 40	Ship wt
Charles	Drew	1 15	
William	Sumner	1	
John	Clark	1	
John	Minzie	1 12 : 10	Old shipwt
Capt Elias	Parkman	1 45	
William	Late	1	Cooper
James	Seward	1 12 : 10	Gunfmith
John	Badgor	1 30	Vendue
Samuel	Vaughan	1 7 : 10	Cooper
Colo William	Burbeck	1 30	
John	Ruck	1	Ship wt

* W. 11 part time.

Capt John	Cathcart	1		
Richd	Floyde	1	20	Cooper
Christr	Peirce	1		Seaman or labour
David	Greenleaf	1	7 : 10	Ship wt
William	Brewer	1		Mast makr
John	Lambert	1		House wt
Simeon	Skillin	1	15	Carver
Joseph	Skillin	1		Scribe
Edward	Page	1	12 : 10	Shipwt
James	Grant	1		Labr
Benja	Abrahams	1		Ship wt
Joseph	Cunningham	1	60	Seaman
Thomas	Lewis Junr	1	12 : 10	Block mr
Isaac	Dickman	1	12 : 10	Seam ⁿ
Robt	Way	1		At sea
James	Burt	1	30	Razr grindr
Joseph	Snelling	1	30	Scribe
Capt Philip	Lewis	1	20	At sea
Thomas	Volentine	1	7 : 10	Cooper
Michl	Alcut	1		Scribe
William	Wallice		20	Grinds chocot
George	Vincent	1	60	Mercht
Joseph	Doble	1	25	Sea capt
John	Manly Esqr		60	Ditto
Peter	Ingerfield	1	12 : 10	Caulker
Thomas	Fling	1	20	Seaman
Joseph	Hayden	1	30	Shoe mr
Master John	Tilestone	1	20	School mr
Daniel	Lillie	1	15	Ship wt
Joseph	Snelling	1		Joyner
Capt Edward	Tyler	1	40	
Capt Abrahm	Bartlett	1	30	At sea
Henry	Roby	1	60	Glazer
Joseph	Roby Junr	1	40	Trader
Jacob	Hollond	1	30	
Thomas	Cartwright	1	15	
William	Sousbury	1		Hatter
Gaml	Larrabee	1	10	Tailor
Thomas	Hollond	1	12 : 10	
Alexdr	Baker	1	12 : 10	
Nathl	Baker	1	50	Blacksm ^h
Nathl	Clark	1	15	Seaman
Paul	Ingerfield	1	12 : 10	Caulker
John	Perrigo	1	12 : 10	
John Fisk	Osgood	1	50	
Robt	Lash	1	7 : 10	Ship wt
Ebenezer	Howard	1	15	Caulker
Amos	Howard	1		
Giles	Harris	1	15	
Joseph	Atwood	1	30	At sea
Major Newman	Greenough		60	Sickly
William	Mills	1	12 : 10	

Negro Titus	White	1		
Michl	Ruddock	1	10	
Samuel	Skillin	1	12 : 10	Carver
Isaac	Walker	1	12 : 10	Cooper
Edward	Ruddock	1		Seaman
Thomas	Luckis	1	7 : 10	Carver
William	Stewart*	1	15	Seaman
Francis	Butler	1	50	Mercht
Benja	Greenwood		30	Glazier
James	Codner	1	12 : 10	Shipwright
Nathl	Baker	1	7 : 10	Hatter, 1 Room
Elkanah	Hayden Junr	1		Journeyman shoemakr
Timothy	Pike	1	15	Sells rum
John	Tucker	1		Fisherman
Nathl	Baker Junr	1	7 : 10	Seaman
Joseph	Oliver	1	20	Ferry boats
Tilestone	Clark	1	20	Ditto
Elijah	Swift	1	12 : 10	Shipwright
David	Pulcifer	1	12 : 10	Cooper
Foster	Cruft	1	20	Ditto
Edward	Hart	1	10	Ship wt
Nathl	Woodward	1	7 : 10	Caulker
John Newell	Woodward	1	7 : 10	Ditto
Thomas	Vernon	1	180	Mercht
Colo John	Popkins		15	
	Mountfort	1	No 3	At sea
David	Porter	1	30	At sea
Thomas	Loring	1	50	Taylor
John	Barber	1		Ship wt
William	Harris	}	1 500	Husbandman
for Hog Island				
Andrew	Tucksbury			
for Deer Island		}	1 150	Ditto
Capt Samuel	Clark			
for Govrs Island		}	100	Ditto

WARD 3

Samuel	Elliot	1	180	Agent &c
Capt Daniel	Martin	0	160	Agent sick
Capt John	Blake No 10	1		Mercht
Benja	White	1	40	Housewright
Colo John	Hurd	2	50	Mercht
Benja	Spooner	1		Seaman
John	Bovey	0		Poor
William	Brown		15	Houfewrt
William	Brown Junr	1		Ditto
James	Tilley, gon out town	1		Cooper
John	Godbolt	1		Scribe
Timothy	Brown	1	10	Ship wt

* Moved Marblehead.

Capt Caleb	Champney	1	40	Glazier
Jonas	Clark	1	30	Mercht
Thomas	Marrable	2	15	Houfe wrt
James	Verny	1		Ditto
Joseph	Hufsey	1	30	Trader
William	Adams, dead	1	20	Houfe wt
Jonathan	Bovey	1	15	Ship wt
Thomas	Sergent	1	15	Sells fish
Samuel	Avis	2	70	Cooper
Othniel Beale	French, N 2	1	15	Boat builder
Capt Samuel	Hendley	1	250	Distiller
Henry	Newell	1	50	Trader
John	Leach	1	40	School master
Thomas	Leach	1		
John	Wyer		50	
Andrew	Newell	1	70	Cooper
Samuel	Fletcher, gon of	1		Mercht
Nathl	Barber, N 1	1		Commifsary
John	Wells	1	15	Mafon
Benja	Tuttle	1	20	Trader
Budd	Robinson	1	7 : 10	Headbuilder
Ephm	Butler		20	Journyman baker
John	Newell, gon of	1	15	Sea
Widow	Skimmer		20	
John	Skillin	1	20 N 2	Carver
Samuel	Skimmer	1		Seaman
Edward	Brown	1	50	Baker
Clement	Collins Junr	1		
Thomas	Kimble	2	150	Sailmaker
Joseph	Gardner Esqr	1	40	Gentn
John	Waite	1	100	Trader
William	Cunningham	2	200 No 4	Sells wood
Grant	Webster	1	100	Trader
Thomas	Ridgway	1	30 No 6	Cooper
Nathl	Fellows	1	180	Trader
Josiah	Elliot	1		Agent &c
Capt Caleb	Hopkins	1	70	Agent &c
John	Lambert	1	12 : 10	Cooper
John	Smith, No 4	1	12 : 10	Seaman
John	Cobb	1		Ditto
James	Sherman	1	15	Painter
William	Quincy	1	7 : 10	Seaman
Thomas	Martin	1		Seaman
Joshua	Beales	1	30	Shoemaker
Samuel	Sprague	1	15	
Joshua	Pico	1	70	Cooper
Benja	Taylor	1	15	Seaman
William	Hill	1		in Boston
Josiah	King	1	50	Trader
Thomas	Lewis	1	40	Blockmaker
Roger	Bartlet	0	20	Sea capt
Joseph	Churchill, dead	1	15	Tailor

Joseph	Wheaton	1		Ship wt
Benja	Jones	1	15	Seaman
William	Perry	1		Barber
Samuel	Badger*	1	15	Seaman
John	Hinks	1	12 : 10	Seaman
William	Bafs }	1	12 : 10	Works in powder
Elisha	Bafs }	1		Cooper
Isaac	Whitney	1	20	Baker
James	Bruce	1	30	Shoemaker
David	Service	1		Fisherman
Samuel	Jennifon	1	15	Baker
Benja	Smith	1	10	Fisherman
Thomas	Tracy	1	40	Sea
John	Stone	1	15 N 2	Pilot
Elias	Tuckerman	1	N 2	Painter
John	Ferry	1	25 N 1	Sea capt
Jonath ⁿ	Brown Jun ^r	1	15	Blacksmith
Abel	Peirce	1		Ditto
Samuel	Clark	1		House wt
William	Stone	1	15	Pilot
Edwd Say James	Burke	1	15	Seaman
Thomas	Harris	1	20	Rigger
James	Freeland	1	30	Sells rum
William	Capen	1	25	Trader
Richd Smith	Silvester	1	25	Barber
Jacob	Clough	1	25	Sells tobacco
John	Clough	1	25	Sells tobacco
Widow	Ball		12 : 10	Keeps shop
Stephen	Hyter	1	12 : 10	Lab ^r
Thomas	Feneey	1	30	Trader
Thomas	Lewis	2	40	Shoemaker & Trader
Samuel	Moody	1	7 : 10	Boat builder
Daniel	Barker	1	20	Blacksmith
Adam	Knox	1	30	Pilot
John	Knox	1		Ditto
Adam	Knox Jun ^r	1		Ditto
George	McKinny	1	50 N 8 *	Keeps boarders
Nath ^l	Ridgway	1	12 : 10 N 1	
Philip	Ridgway, at Milton	1	12 : 10	Tinplate
Mercy	Gleason		25 : 0	Keeps shop
George	Lobb	1	80	Keeps shop
John	Tudor Esq ^r	1	80	Gent ⁿ
John	Ballard	2	100	Keeps tavern
John	Snelling	1	12 : 10	Sailmaker
James	White	1	15	
Henry	Blasdel	1		Ship wt
Nath ^l	Child	1	20	Shoemaker
Joseph	Child	1		Ditto
Daniel	Hunt	1	50	Keeps shop
Jonath ⁿ	Clark	1		Seaman
John	Green	1	No 7	Tailor

* Movd out town.

James	Christy*	1	30	Shopkeeper
Mifs	Benneys		20	Ditto
Stephen	Nazro		20	Barber
Alexdr	Robinson	1	12 : 10	
Abrhm	Foster	1	25	Cabnet maker
James	Foster Junr	1		
Fredk	Beck	1	10	Ded Seaman
John	Harris	1	25	Boat builder
Nathl	Jenkins	1	30	House wt
	Dumbling	1		Frenchman
Robt	Bruce	1	30	Keeps public
William	Stainsbury	1	40	
William	Bell Junr	1	10	Tailor
Widow	Ellis		20	Keeps public
George	De France	1	15	Tailor
Jonath ⁿ	Mountfort	1	60	Apotry
Jona	Mountfort Junr	1	40	Ditto
Widow	McIntyre		20	
Andrew	McIntyre	1		
Robt Ball	Knox	1	30	Pilot
Levi	Lane	1		Sailmaker
Samuel	Howard	1	15 : 0	Caulker
Joseph	Hemingway	1	10 : 0	Fishern
George	Bright	1	120	Cabnet mr
Thomas	Bright	1		
John	Douglafe	1	12 : 10	Cooper
Elkanah	Hayden	1	40	Shoe mr
Joshua	Hemingway	1		Fishern
Peter	Clark†	1		Seaman
Alexdr	Thomas	1	70	Scribe
Capt Daniel	Waters	2	60	Sea capt
Josiah	Harris	1	12 : 10 : 0	Keeps shop
Stephen	Hill	1	20	Seaman
Samuel	Peirce	0	30	Keeps shop
John	Moody	1	12 : 10	Seaman
John	Langdon	1	50 : 0	
Dr. John	Perkins	1		
Daniel	Malcum	1		
Joseph	Ingraham	1	20	Sea capt
Samuel	Lord	1	15	Care stores
James	Marslin	1	15	Cooper
Robt	Stonehoufe	1	30	Trader
Simeon	Stoddard	1	40	Mercht
Wido	Stoddard		40 : 0	
John	White	1	70	Overseer
Simeon	Turner	1	30	Pipe makr
Eleazer	Callender	1	20	Ditto

* Gon Providence

† Taken or lost

WARD 4

Peter	Lemercer gone				
John	Dawson, N ^o 7	1	30		Trader
Samll	Clark	1	20		Taylor
Thomas	Potts		20		Old capt
John	Hurley	1			Taylor
Peter	Turo	1			Jur shoe maker
Wm	Truman	1	15		Caulker
John	Truman	1	15		Do & trader
Wm	Cazneau	1			Labourer
Gibbins	Bouve	1	30		Housewright
James	Barbor	1		N ^o 1	Blockmaker
Richard	Skillings	1	50		Ditto
Jno	Skillings	1	15		Shipwright
Joseph	Edmonds	1	20		Sexton
Samll	Brown	1	12 : 10		Joyner
Peter	Frewally	1			Labourr & distillr
Peter	Duplifies	1	100		Keeps horses
Edward	Gyles	1	40		Painter
Joseph	Hilyer	1	10		Blockmaker
Joseph	Skinner	1		N ^o 2	Seaman
Nathll	Hicthburn	1	40		Boat builder
Walter	Piper	1	20		Rigger
John	Owen	1	40		Cooper
Joseph	Hammett	1	15		Cooper
Gilbert	Colesworthy	1	20		Caulker
Perez	Cushing	1	20		Trader
James	Barnard		20		Housewright
John	McClary	1	15		Shop trader
Ebenr	Andrews		20		Blacksmith
Joseph	Gleason	1	15		Carter
Francis	Shaw Esqr	1	50		Collector
Joshua	Cheever	1	15		Goldsmith
Edward	Edes	2	70		Baker & tradr
John	Martin	1	20		Trader
Thos	Huntinton	1			Jourm shoemakr
Thos	Kast	1	50		Doctr
Edward	Procter Esqr	1	120		Marchant
James	Nevins	1	20		
James	Robins	1	10		Joyner
Manafsah	Marstin	2	40		Cooper
Thos	Barbor	1	30		Ditto
Wm	Fenno	1	20		Trader
John	Nations	1	20		Ditto
Wm	Clough	1	20		Trader
Gibbins	Sharp	1	40		Shipwright
Samll	Treat	1	30		Gentillman
Wm	Marshall	0	20		
John	Cogswell	1	50		Trader
John	Thomson	1	50		Tallow chandr
Cpt Richd	Palmes	1	30		At sea

Wm	Palmes	1	on a vefsel
Henry Howill	Williams	1 1000	at Nodills Island
James	Burrill wh do	1	
	Richards	1	
Samll	Ridgway	1 80	Chair maker
Mathew	Sunn	20	Labourer
Thos	Barnard	1 40	Sea cpt
Roger	Haddock	1 20	
Joshua	Winslow	1 40	Sea cpt
Ebenr	Brown	1 20	Taylor
Joseph	Buttler	20	Ship joyner
Samll	Beales	1 12 : 10	Taylor
Doct Isaac	Rand	1 80	
John	Revear	1 15	Taylor
Andrew	Simms	25	Old joyner
Nehimh	Skillings	1 15	Sea cpt
Widow	Goldsmith	25	Keeps shop
	Bentley with do	1	
Thos	Badger	1 15	Blockmaker
John	Acres	1	Taylor
Thos	Cabbat	1	Cooper
Lemull	Gardner	1 12 : 10	Ditto
Shippe	Townsend	2 60	Blockmaker
Thos	Brewer	1 15	Glazier
Oliver	Greenleafe	1 20	Clark or scribe
Edward	Rumney	1 50	Trader
Charles	Coffen, No 7	1 20	Scribe
Joseph	Hudson	1 30	Sea cpt
Benjm	Cox	1 20	Taylor
Wm	Minns	1 40	Pilot
Henry	Swan	1 25	Sea mafter
Cpt John	Minzie	1 12 : 10	Ship wright
Enock	Armover	1 60	
John	Adams	1	Barbor
Abigail	Berry	30	Shopkeeper
Ephram	Brown	1 20	Shoemaker
George	Makepiece, No 5	2 250	Miller
John	How	1 15	Joyner
P & Naby	Page, look up	1 15	Keeps shop
Benjm	Goldthwaite	1 70	Heal maker
John	Mitchell	1 100	Trader
Jacob	Cooper	1 50	Scribe
Nathll	Abrahams	1 40	Trader
	Jackson	1	
Samll	Greenough	1 30 N 6	Trader
Nathll	Hancock	1 20	Housewright
Edward	Newill	1 12 : 10	Barbor
Giles	Brewer	1 10	Housewright
Thomas	Brewer	1	Do.
Enock	James	1 40	Blacksmith
Boston	Foster Negro	1	
Francis	James	1	Mason

Mathew	Rofs	I	12 : 10	Carter
Patrick	Lain	I	12 : 10	Do.
Gersham	Thomas	I	7 : 10	Housewright
John	Neat	I		Do
Joseph	Bafsett	I	7 : 10	Cooper
Edward	Bafsett	I	7 : 10	Do
David	Bell	I	12 : 10	Mafon
Joseph	Eustis Junr	I	12 : 10	Housewright
Joshua	Pitman	O	20	Boat builder
Samll	More	I	40	Trader
Charles	Willis	I	35	Sailmaker
Charles	Willis Junr	I	10	Do.
Wm	Peirce	I		Barbor
Elias	Robinson	I	7 : 10	Head builder
Wm	Hardy	I		Sailor
Daniel	Parker	I	450	Distillr
Daniel	Parker Junr	I	30	Trader
James	Boyd	I	20	Dancg Master
	Sisfron	I	40	Keeps Boarders
John	Folts	I	15	Sugar baker
John	Baker Dead	I	80	
Andrew	Simms, Esqr	I	180	Distillr
Thomas	Sherburn Junr	I	30	Trader
Thos	Sherburn	I	60	Ship keeper
Joseph	Gandal	I	25	Kegg makr
Thos	Powers	I	25	Sea Cpt
Samll	Parkman	I	120	Marcht
Nathll	Barbor Esqr	I	60	Gentillm
Jacob	Hendley		20	Blacksmith
Thos	Greenough	I	60	Gentillman
Thos	Atkins	I	60	Mafon
Thos	Atkins Junr	I		Do
Timothy	Atkins	I		Do
John	Larkin	I	180	Marcht & Distillr
Alexr	Edwards	I	120	Cabbt maker
John	Gardner	I		
John	Huffins	I	12 : 10	Labourr
John	Prince	I	50	Hatter
Joseph	Prince	I		Do
Thos	Prince	I		Sea man
Wm	Alexander	I	12 : 10	Cabbt maker
Joseph	Kittle	I	90	Baker & Trader
	Cobbitt	I	30	Baker
Jona	Kittle, No 2	I		Founder
Newbury	Clough, No 3	I		Mason
Mofes	Calf	I	30	Leathr Breechs Keeps Shop
John	Osgood	I	12 : 10	Shoe Maker
John	Brown	I		Scribe
John	Cartwright	I	20	Cooper
Freeman	Pulcifur	I	30	Bone Cutter
Daniel	Loring	I		Keeps shop
Edward	Reavley	O	30	Sea Man

WARD 5

Joseph	Ballord	1	25	
George	Lewis	0	20	
Ebenezer	Ridgway	0	20	
Thos	Cristie	1		
George	Singleton		20	
Abraham	Ingerfol	0	20	
Benja	Badger	1	12 : 10	Gone Country
John	Troth	0	40	
John	Doakes	1	20	
John	Alcock	0	20	
Orcut	Shaw	1	20	
John	Cook	1	16 : 13 : 4	
William	Storey	1	40	
Thomas	Pook	1	10	
William	Parkman	1	20	No 4
James	Adams	1	10	
William	McKay	1	60	
John Allen	Hallett	1		
John	Matchett	1	60	
Nehemiah	Ingerfol	1	40	
William	Clarke	1	130	
Francis	Enoch	1	10	
James	Rouse	1	20	
Isaac	Bradley	1	15	
William	Thomas	1	15	Next to Lobdells
Clement	Collins	0	50	
Thomas	Chamberlain	1	30	
Jonathan	Carey	1	40	
John	Thompson	1		Gone Seaman
David	Edes	1		
Francis	Rust	1	35	
Jofeph	Hovey	1	40	
Jofeph	Santey	1		
Thomas	Cunningham	0	40	
Edward	Weld	2	50	
Jonathan	Loring	1	30	
Benjamin	Lincoln	1		To Hingham
John	Pulling	1	40	
Robert	Hichborn	1	40	
Bartholomew	Nafon	1	15	
Joseph	Chandler	1		
Edward	Dawes	1	40	
Daniel	McLeod	1	30	No 8
Samuel	Hichborn	2	40	
Benjamin	Waine	1	20	
James	Carey	1	40	
Jonathan	Williams Esqr	2	250	
Jofhua	Eaton	1		
Jofeph	Cochran	1		
John	Corthell	0	20	

Samuel	Adams	1	Gone
Thomas	Pemberton	1 10	
Richard	Calvin	1 35	
James	Bridgham	1 130	
John	Staunton	1 130	
Peter	Sigourney	1 100	} No 4
Ebenezer	Flagg	1	
William	Simpkins	0 50	} No 2
Thomas Barton	Simpkins	1	
James	Robertson	0 40	
Robert	Rand	1 100	
William	Patten	0 20	
Ebenezer	Simpson	1	
Widow	Small	0 50	
James	Guardett	1 16 : 13 : 4	
David	Nallett	1	
Thomas	Davis	1 100	
Isaac	Freeman	1 80	
William	Lambert	1 70	
John	Simmes	1 70	
Jane	Moncrief	0 20	
John	Bowes	1 15	
John	Sheppard Junr	1 40	
Mrs	Wittington	0 50	
William	Freeland	1 40	
Benjamin	Gorham	1 120	
Reubin	Gorham	1	
Hayden	Grann	1 100	
Josiah	Waters	1 120	
Samuel	Harris Junr	1	
James	Foster	1 40	
Susannah	Renken	0 50	
Moses	Ring	1 50	
John	Galley	1 20	
James	Stuart	1 60	
John	Bradshaw	1 280	
Andrew	Bradshaw	1 30	No 6
James	Ridgway	1 70	
Thos Stoddard	Bordman	1 45	
John	Sturgis	1 20	with Rufsell Sturgis
John	Johannott	1 50	
Daniel	Scott	2 120	
Samuel	Phillips	1 40	
Samuel	Harris	1 40	
Nehemiah	Norcross	1 50	
John	Welsh	1 150	
Jacob	Welsh	1 30	
John	Welsh Junr	1 30	
Henry	Frets	1 70	
James	Jackson	1 100	
Job	Bradford	1 40	
Samuel	Austin Esqr	1 80	

Jofhua	Berry	I	20	
Hopestill	Capen	I	80	
John	Jent	I	20	
Nathaniel	Thayer	I	20	Gone to Conecticut
Ebenezer	Thayer	I		
Miles	Cahoo	I	15	
Charles	Connor	I	20	
John	Rand	I	80	
Samuel	Frothingham	I	40	
Norton	Brailsford	I	60	
William	Northbury	I		
Thomas	Dillon	I	25	
John	Kemp	I	40	
William	Jasper	I	20	
Capt Elifha	Cole	I	16 : 13 : 4	
Edward	Cole	I		
John	Tilley	I	40	
Widow	Seed	O	20	
Thomas	Devens	I		
Jacob	Tidd	I		
Richard	Urann	I		
Jofeph	Hood	I	80	
Andrew	Gellispie	I	20	In Country
Ebenezer	Baxter	I	25	
Estate of Joseph	How	I	70	
David	How	I	12 : 10	
Benjamin	Kimball	I	15	
Jacob	Edes	I	25	
John	Slade	I	20	
Afa	Stoddar	I	15	
Wido	Ball	O	40	
Monfier	Graff	I		
Bt Merlino	De Saint Pry	I	130	
John	Healey	I	25	
James	Worth	I	20	
John	Hughes	I	40	
G. B.	Gedney	I	20	
Jonathan	Stoddar	I	70	
Ezekiel	Goldthwait Esqr	O	200	
John	Dinsdell	I	40	
Capt Daniel	Adams	I	30	
William	Ballord	I	30	
Jofeph	How Junr	I	60	
Thomas	Capron	2	60	
Harbottle	Dorr	I		
Thomas	Osborn	I	50	
Thomas	Hichborn	2	100	
Nathaniel	Croftswell	I	60	
Ebenezer	Bradley	I	40	
Edward	Burt	I	30	
Thos	Knox	I	40	
Jona	Greeley	I	40	

Abra	Codner	1	
John	Codner	2 25	Gone to Hollond
Thos	Love	1	
Thomas	Clarke	1 20	
Israel	Ellingwood	0 30	
Thos	Moor	1 150	
James	Whitacre	1	gone in Greely
Capt John	Brown	1 20	
Ebenr	Burdett	1 30	
Jofeph	Rook	1	
Henry	Atkins	1	missing not heard of
Edward	Atkins	1	
Jeremiah	Connell	1 15	No 4
Samuel	Butts	1	
William	Carey	1	
James	Lambert	1	
Jofeph	Brown	1 50	
William	Simmes	1 60	
William	Adams	1 10	
James	Adams Junr	1 10	
Alexander	Hopkins	1 25	
John	Homer	1 35	
Samuel	Smith	1 25	
William	Smith	1	

WARD 6

James	Lamb Junr	1 120	Gone to No 10
John	King	1 0	
John	Battiers	1 12 : 10	
Jofeph	Urann	1 16 : 13 : 4	
John West	Folfsom	1 90	
Nathl	Atkins	0 20 : 00	Gone to Salem
James	Ford	1	
William	Cooper Esqr	1 150	
Wm	Cooper Junr	1	
Enoch	Brown	2 250	
Richard	Jennys	1 70	
Jofhua	Wetherell	2 in 12	No 12
John	Bradford	3 150	
John	Bradford Junr	1	
Jotham	Leavett	1	
Richard	Rivoll	1 10	
Jofeph	Aikley	1 00	
James	Kerrella	1	
Mrs	Whitworth	0 150	
Patrick	Campbell	1	
Samuel	Sumner	1 40	
John	Byles	0 20	Crofs Street
John	Webb	0 100	
Benja	Dolbear	1 130	

John	Dolbear	1	West Indies
John	Lowell	1 120	
Jona	Cushing	1 120	
Joseph	Loring	2 70	
Wm	Connant	1 160	
Stephen	Emmery	1 120	
Moses	Grant	1 200	
Joseph	Scott	0 60	
Saml	Cazneau	1 40	
Edward	Kneeland	2 120	
Joseph	Bradford	1 50	
Joseph	Greenleaf Esqr	1 200	
Stephen	Whiting	1 100	
Joseph	Whiting	1 30	
James Foster	Condy	1 120	
Israel	Keith	1 30	Board with Mr Parmer
Robinson	Crocker	1 90	Gone
Phillip	Freeman	1 120	
Martin	Gay	0 60	
Mathew	Groves	1 70	
Jeremiah	Bumstead	2 70	
	Bumstead	1	
John	White	0 70	
Daniel	McNeil	2 220	
Ebenr	Frothingham	1 120	
Thomas	Flatt	0 50	
	Lemmon	1	
Moses	Bradley	1 120	
John	Barrett Esq	2 300	
John	Barrett Junr	1	
Alexander	McLeod	1 80	
Patrick	Connolly	1 7 : 10	by Liberty Tree
Joseph	Charles	1 50	
Andrew	Dexter	1 100	No 12
Joseph	Farrington	0 60	
Benja	Jeffers	1 100	
Nathaniel	Tidmarsh	1 15	
Wm	Rogers	1	
Samuel	Sloane	1 250	
James	Bayley	1 25	
Thos	Bayley Junr	1	
Capt David	Nicholson	1 10	
Wm	Cordwell	1 80	
Battery	Powers	1 100	
John	Jenkins	1 150	
John	Jenkins Junr	1	
Richard	Jenkins	1	
John	Woart	1 120	
William	Frobisher	2 70	
Benja	Thompson	2 100	
Thos	Dakin	2 100	
Joseph	Dakin	1 00	

Doctor Thos	Welsh	1 100	
Richard	Billings	1 180	
Ralph	Abrahams	1 50	
Wm	Abrahams	1 30	
Samuel	Goff	1 50	
John	Chefsman	1 20	
James	Pecker	0 130	
Nathl	Brewer	1 10	
David	Jones	1 10	
John	Dawfon	1 10	No 11
Andrew	Townsend	1 20	
Andrew	Townsend Junr	1	
Jona Welsh	Edes	1 80	
Saml	Barrett	2 250	
Saml	Barrett Junr	1 30	
Thomas	Knox	1 100	
Benja	Richardfon	1 40	
	Umber	1	Gone, prisoner
Henry	Branfon	1	
Thos Sparrow	Larkin	1 50	
Caleb	Swann	1 160	
Wido	Andrews	0 120	
Samuel	Danforth	2 150	
William	Greenleaf Esqr	2 350	
	Miller	1	
Joseph	Loring	1 120	
William	Callender	1 35	
Wido	Gray	1 400	
Capt John	Rathborn	1 80	in Country
John	Lee	1	gone
Benja	Sumner Junr	1 80	
Joseph	Hall	1 380	} with Shattock & Parkers
John	Baker	1	
William	Minzies	1	
John	Kneeland	1 100	
Benja	Jepfon	1 120	
Jonathan	Williams	0 60	
Giles	Alexander	1 20	
	Kennaday	1	
William	Bell	1 50	
William	Crafts	2 80	
Bartho	Rand	1 300	
Aaron	Hall	1	Gone country
Charles	Williams	1 200	
James	Ivers	2 100	
Thomas	Ivers	1 80	
Joseph	Bush	1 30	
	Baldwin	1	Gone
Thomas	Newell Junr	1 120	
Amos	Winship	1 50	Mov'd
Benja	Euftis	2 120	
Estate George	Euftis	0 25	

Abraham	Euftis	1	
Ebenezer	Storer	1	220
John	Coolidge	1	140
Estate Edward	Gray	0	150
Joseph	White	1	80
Daniel	Bell	1	150
John	Hickey	1	
Wm	Moor	1	60
Jona	Balch	1	50
James	Rogers	1	20
John	Scollay Esqr	1	320
Benja	Scollay	1	
Joseph	Putman	1	100
William	Gale	1	200
Shrimpton	Hutchinson	1	40
George	Minott	1	150
Benja	Auftin Esqr	1	120
Benja	Auftin Junr	1	
Jona Loring	Auftin	1	60
Isaac	Peirce	1	30
Thomas	Adams	1	20

Moved Willms No 9 Court

WARD 7

Samuel	Minot	1	150		Goldsmith
John	Pitts Esqr	2	220		Mercht
William	Pitts	1			Sick
Robert	Adamson	1	20		Marriner
John	Southack	1	20		Scribe
Benja	Kent Esqr	1	50		
Benja	Hammett	1	200		Mercht
Widdow	Fitch		100		
Charles	Sigourney	2	200	No 8	Mercht
John	Winthrop	1	260		Ditto
Francis	Hooton	1	40		Seaman
Mrs	Purcell		100		
John Foster	Williams	1	150		State Service
Jacob	Porter	1	70		Taylor in state service
Adam	Rowe	1			Negro gone Privg
John	Gould	2	50		Barber
William	Hearsay		20		Mason
Joseph	Hitchings	1	16 : 13 : 4		Carpent
Peter	Boyer	1	150		Mercht
John	Box	1			
Alexander	Thomas			No 3	
John	Rogers	1	120		Trader
Thomas	Waldo	1	20		Ditto
The Estate of Saml	Winthrop Esqr				
John	Phillips Esqr	1	120		
Widdow	Bryant		100		
Perez	Morton Esqr	2	40		Attourney

Edward	Carnes Esqr	1	280		Ropemaker
Edward	Carnes Junr	1	30	No 6	Ditto
Capt Thos	Carnes	1			
John	Lane	1	50		Barber
Dr Thomas	Bulfinch	2	300		
Samuel A	Otis Esqr	2	150		Mercht
Ephraim	Copeland	1	30		Taylor
William	Davis	1	200		Mercht
William	Davis Junr	1		Gone to	Providence
Samuel	Winslow	1			Ditto
Samuel	Lawrence	1	20		Taylor
Joshua	Loring	1	150		Mercht
William	Clough	1	20		Carpentr
David	Brace	1			Seaman
William	Homer	1	30		Mason
Gyles	Alexander Junr	1	160		Trader
Isaac	Wendell	1		Gone	Ship Mars
John	Brown	1	20		Carpentr
Daniel	Brown	1	20		Ditto
Thomas	Wells	1			Smith
Isaac	Whittemore	1	20		Carpentr
Nathan	Frazier	2	120		Mercht
James	Wells	1	160		Difstiller
Edward Lad	Saunders		30		
Andrew	Campbell*	1	25		Trader
Samuel	Whitney	1	15		
John	Daniels	1			Trader
Richard	Green	1	15		Journ ^a Difstillr
John	Turner	1		Mov'd	
John	Wise	1	90		Taylor
John	Perkins Junr	1			
Thomas	Melvill	1	140		Mercht
John	Dawson	1	10		Gardner
Thomas	Dennie	2	250		Mercht
Lendell	Pitts	2	200		Ditto
Thomas	Raiment		30		Taylor
Richard	Salter	1	180		Mercht
Samuel	Green	1	10		Pewterer
John	Welsh	1	50		Carver
Barthow	Raymond	1			Taylor
Benja	Jennings†	1			Smith
John	Nowell		60		Painter
Isaac	Peirce	1	300		Difstiller
Joseph	Danniels	1	40	No 10	Carpentr
James	Ridgway	1	12 : 10		Carpentr
Thomas	Hudson	2	50		Truckman
William	Kennaday	1			Scribe
Nathl	Patten	1	75		Difstiller
Henry W	Jackson	1	20		Prizemaster
John	Powell	1	20		Forem ^a Difstiller

* Gone to Back Street.

† Temple Street.

Mrs	Wybert	30	
William	Peak	1 80	S Carpent ^r
Capt Isaac	Phillips	1 150	Board War
Turner	Phillips	1	
William	Raymond	1 12 : 10	Cooper
Thomas	Raymond Jun ^r	1 60	Taylor
Joshua	Lapham	1 12 : 10	S Carpent ^r
Hezekiah	Welsh	1 40	Ship Boston
Joshua	Pilsbury	1	Dead At sea
George	Pilsbury	1	Ditto
Thomas	Parker	3 160	Mason
William	Sinclair	20	Seaman
Isaac	Harper	20	Sawyer
Samuel	Pilsbury	1	Carpent ^r
George	Nowell	1	Ditto
William	Hayman	1 60	Mariner
Uriah	Norcrofts	1 16 : 13 : 4	Carpent ^r
John	Scudder*	1	Fisherm ⁿ
Hezekiah	Blanchard	1 20	
Capt Job	Prince	2 250	Mercht
John	Allen	1 7 : 10	Taylor
William	Sherburn	1 160	Mercht
Joshua	Blanchard Jun ^r	1 150	Ditto
Willa	Breck	2 220	Ditto
John	Kneeland	1 N ^o 9	Ditto
Elijah	Caswall	1 12 : 10	Carpent ^r
William	Todd	1 60	Carpent ^r
Thomas	Prince	1 80	Mercht
Willia Down	Cheever	2 250	Ditto
William	Cheever Jun ^r	1	Ditto
Habijah	Savage	1 200	Ditto
Job	Prince Jun ^r	2 180	Ditto
Collo	Wadsworth	1 40 N ^o 9	
George	Ridgway	1 12 : 10	Carpent ^r
Glasgow	Cooper Negro	1	
Prince	Hatch Do	20	
Cuff	Jennings Do	1	
Philip	Richardson	1	Pest House
Newport	Debloice Negro		
Green	Peirce	1 16 : 13 : 4	Retailor
Nero	Coxhill Negro	1	Chimy Sweeper
Tobias	Locker Do		
George	Spriggs	1 12 : 10	Gardner
George	Spriggs Jun ^r	1	
Henry	Smith	1	with Gen Hancock
Ezekiel	Gardner	20	Shoemaker
David	Jacobs	1 20	Journaman Chaisemaker
William	Silsbey	1 40	Trader
Samuel	Jepson	1	Barber
William	Breed	2 60	Baker

* Gone in Country.

Benjamin	Edes	1	150	Printer
Peter	Edes	1		Ditto
Benja	Edes Junr	1		Ditto
Thomas	Green Junr	1	10	Pewterer
John	Greenough Negro	1		
	Pratt		20	Fisherman
Mathew	Nazro	1	16 : 13 : 4	
Ebenezer	Norwood	1	40	Country. Carpentr
William	Rouse	2	30	Baker
Theopho	Wentworth	1	30	Nº 4 Ditto
James	Hincks		20	Rope mr
William	Summers		20	Gardr
John	Miller	1	20	Carpentr
Nathl	Call	1	25	Carpentr
Richard	Call	1		Baker
Barthow	Trough	1	12 : 10	Shoemakr
Edward	Edwards		20	Taylor
Alexander	Martin	1	20	Baker
John	Carroll	1	20	Taylor
Josiah	Richardson	1	20	Baker
John	Bacon	2	16 : 13 : 4	Huxter
John	Bacon Junr	1		Going to sea
Nicho	Murphy		20	Lemmon seller
Simeon	Mayo	2	200	Mercht
Henry	Plympton	1	20	Carter
Daniel	Warner	1		Nº 2 Privateeg
John	Ridgway	1		Mason
John	Gill	2	180	Printer
Joseph	Callender	2	200	Ironmonger
Samuel	Breck	1	300	Mercht
Jonathan	Harris	1	160	Nº 8 Baker
Jonathan	Rand	1		Journ Do
Samuel	Pitts	2	200	Mercht
Dr Timy	Newell	3	300	
John	Winnett	2	120	

WARD 8

John	Peters Negro	1	150	
Jonathan	Reed	1		Nº 10
Elias	Stone	1		Mate Vefsell
Hannah	Grant		40	
Samuel	Brown	1		Trader
Samuel	Demming	1		
Samuel	Vernon	1		Trader
David	Sears	1		Trader
Andrew	Brimmer	1	120	Mercht
John	Simpkins	1	160	Shop keeper
Widw	Leverett		120	
James	Carew	1		
Capt Nathl	Jervis	1	100	Mercht

Timoy	Austin	140		Scribe sick
Daniel	Austin	1		Shop keepr
Margaret	Phillips	120		
Joshua	Gardner	1 150		Shop keepr
Joseph	Edwards	1 100		Goldsmith
Tuthill	Hubbard	1 180		
Thomas	Downs	2 150		Upholster
Mary	Cutler	100		
Thomas	Parker Junr	1 150		Shop keepr
Dr John	Loring	1 120		
Zachah	Hicks	2 120		Sadler
Ebenezer	Hills	1 120	Gone	Shop
Cynthia	Wilkinson	120		
Thomas	Carnes	120	Dead	Sick
Nathan	Bond	1 80		Shop keepr
	Mirack	1		
John	Carnes Junr	1 180		Shop keepr
Capt John	Langdon	1 170		Ditto
Jeremiah	Belknap	1 40		Leather drefser
Samuel	Belknap	1 40		Goldsmith
Abigail	Rand	40		
Daniel	Wilds	1 100		Taylor
Benjamin	Larkin	1 40		Bookbinder
Elisha	Wilds	1 20		Taylor
Jacob	Sweetser	1 120		Shop keeper
Daniel	Ballord	1 90		Taylor
Thomas	Drown	1 70		
Samuel	Elliot	1 180		Shop keeper
David	Brewer	1 150		Tavern
David	Brewer Junr	1		Penobscot
William	White	2 260		Shopkeeper
John	Wheelwright*	2 150		Ditto
John	Perkins	1		Labourer
Sarah	Silsbey	30		
James	Welsh†	60		Publick house
John	Newell	1 200		Tavern keepr
Philip	Train	1	Gone	Wth Ditto
William	Quiner‡	1		Chimy sweeper
Edward	Powers	2 60		Smith
William	Stackpole	1 120		Trader
Mathew	Bayley	1 80		Baker
Ellis	Gray Esqr	2 150		Mercht
John Steel	Tyler§	1 200		Ditto
Henry	Prentice	1 100		Ditto
Benjamin	Call	1 60		Mercht wth Pitts
William	Hoskins	1 130	No 3	Mercht
Andrew	Black	1 140		Ditto
John	Odin	1 90		Scribe
William	Newman	1 60		Trader

* Greens Lane.

† Continl Army.

‡ Fore Street.

§ Gone to France.

John	Hills	1	90	Gone	Shopkeepr
John	Burke	1	50		Lemmn Dealer
William	King	1	50		Ditto
Daniel	Kneeland	1	40		Printer
Fitch	Pool	0		Gone to	France
Jonathan	Fowle	1	100		Master Chaise maker
William	Harris	1		Nº 6	Scribe
Edward Eveleth	Powers	1	100	Nº 6	Trader
Isaac	Smith Esqr	3	400		Mercht
William	Smith	1	40		Ditto
Estate of Samuel	Pemberton Esqr	0	150		
Dr James	Lloyd	3	250		
Oliver	Wendell Esqr *	2	360		Mercht
Samuel	Gore	2	200		Painter
James	Carter	1	30		Schoolmasr
George	Rolstone	1	16 :	13 : 4	Sexton
William	Shattuck	1	250		Mercht
John	Shattuck	1			Ditto
	Brinton	1		Gone	Ditto
Cornelius	Thayer	1	120		Shopkeepr
Mrs	Sheaffe		70		
John R.	Livingston	0		Nº 1	Mercht
Francis	Archbald	1	180		Boarders
David	Burrell	1	12 :	10	Shoemaker
Samuel	Mason		20		Taylor poor
Henry	Perkins	1	50		
James	Bowdoine Junr	2	100		Mercht
Widdow	Waldo		50		
Widw	Cotton		90		
Henry	Livingston†	1			Mercht
	Jenners	0			Privateerg
Capt Saml	Downs		80		
Joseph	Wakefield	1		Blind	Taylor
Thomas	Jackson	1	30		Scribe
Thos	Jackson Junr	1	30		Goldsmith
	Jackson	1			Trader
Stephen	Higginson	1	250		Mercht
John	Griffith	1	25		School masr
Joshua	Blanchard	2	150		Shop keepr
Samuel	Blanchard	1			Privateerg
John	Blanchard	1			Ditto
Daniel	Rea Junr	1	150		Painter
Thomas	Green	1	150		Pewterer
John	Green	1	30		Tinman
Timothy	Green	1	80	Nº 7	Pewterer
Benjamin	Peirpoint	2	120		Goldsmith
Madm	Apthorp	1	50		
Mrs Frances	Fosdick		120		
Benjamin	Hichborn	1	40	Mov'd	Attorney

* Gone to Hog Island.

† A. D. Gone.

Thomas	Fosdick	1		Mercht
Peter	Jervis	1		
Mrs	Turell	100		
John	Dall	1		Clerk to Council
Prince	Sutton Negro	1	No 7	
Joseph	Peirce	1		Labourer
Samuel	Metcalf	1 30		Masr Wheelwt
Ralph	Innan Esqr	2 300		Mercht
Andrew	Newell	1 150		Instrum ^t mar
Thomas	Allen	1 180		Chaisemaker
Timothy	White	1 100		
Barthw	Branders	1 130		Barber
Theodore	Dehon	2 180		Ditto
Nicho	McMahon	1	Gone	Journ ^a wth Ditto
Mary	Reed	180		Shop
Laurence P.	Downs	1		At sea
John	Austin Junr	1 200		Shop
Edmund	Conner	1 50		
John	Austin	1 80		
Mrs	Clapham	70		
David	Bradlee	1 300		Tavern
Joseph		1	A. D.	wth Ditto
William	Starr	1		At sea
Stephen	Morse*	1		Goldsmith
John	Stratton*	1		wth Bradlee
Collo Isaac	Sears			Mercht
Pascal N.	Smith	3 400		Mercht
Benja	Jervis	1		wth Ditto
Eliakm	Raymond	1		wth Ditto
Anthony	Griffith	1		Mercht
William	Wyer	1		Seaman
Jonathan	Nutting	1 80		Trader
Capt Josiah	Godfrey	1 80		Marriner
Josiah	Simpson	1 80		Public house
Benja	Cudworth	1 200		Collector
Gawen	Brown	2 220		Clockmaker
Gawen	Brown Junr	2		
Robert	Caldwell	1 180		Marriner
Widw	Gray	250		
William	Payne	1		
Thomas	Rogers	1		wth D. Rogers
Dn Daniel	Jones	2 360		Tavern
Mose	Black	2 230		Shopkeepr
Mrs	Perkins	200		Ditto
William	Burrows	1 100		Ditto
William	Wain	2 120		Ditto
Edward	Wain	1		Ditto
Redmond	Berry	1 80		Retailer
Nicho	Lobdell	1 200		Tavern

* Gone out town.

Susannah	Braddish*	75		Boarders
Abigail	Braddish*	75		Ditto
Widw	Witmarsh	150		Ditto
William	Williams	2 170		Instrut makr
	McClester	1		wth Newell
John	Gorman	1 80	Dead	Shoemaker
John	Loverain	1 80	Dead	Tallow chandler
Edward	Wentworth	1 80		Minots T
John	Shepherd	1 80		Shoemaker
Timoy	Field †	1		wth Ditto
Thomas	Cox	1 120		Tavern
Richard	Carpenter	1 120		Ditto
William	Dodd ‡	1		wth Ditto
Thomas	Organ	1 60		Ditto
Russell	Sturges	1 200		Hatter
Joshua	Reed	1	Gone	wth Ditto
Benja	Loring	1 200		Tavern
William	Chusick	1	Gone	wth Ditto
Volentine	Fenelly	1 20		Truckn
Patrick	Kenney	1 50		Shop
Thomas	Gardner	2 30		Truckm ⁿ
Morris	Kieff	1 60		Lem ⁿ dealer
Belcher	Noyes Esqr	1 80		
Nath ^l	Noyes	1 100		Scribe
Capt John	Hinckly	1 140		Trader
Wm	Boyes	1 150		Tavern
James	Williams	1 30		Shoemaker
Edward	Jackson	1 150		Shop
Joseph	Jackson Esqr	3 250		
John	Kennaday	1 300		Shop & Diftillr
Thomas	Walker	1 120		Shop
Thomas	Watson	1 20		Retailer

WARD 9

John	Lowell Esqr	1 200	Lawyer
Nath ^l	Brinley	1 100	Gentleman
William	Hutchinson	1 60	Merchant
John	Andrews	3 300	Dito
Joshua	Bracket	2 350	Tavern
Joseph	Langton	2 250	Merchant
Thomas	Whiteing	1 30	Shop
Joseph	Woodward	1 20	Goldsmith
Capt Nath ^l	Douse	1	
Barthy	Kneeland	1 250	Shop
Frances	Parrott	1 100	Dito
William	Daveis	1 250	Dito
Benjamin	Coolidge	1 60	Dito

* Moved by Boston Stone.

† Gone to country.

‡ Gone in country.

Widow	Hall	60	
Stephen	Cook	1	Merchant
Nathl	Hinchman	1 100	Goldsmith
Luke	Baker	1 200	Shop
Jonathan	Houghton	1 100	Dito
Benjamin	Brown	1 200	Dito
Joseph	Ford	1 250	Dito
Ezikel	Price	1 150	Scribe
Samuel	Bafs	1 60	Tanner
Capt	Bunker	1 60	
Abijah	Adams	1 10	Taylor
Joseph	Nichols	2 120	Merchant
	Nichols	1	Dito
William	Baker	1	
William	Baker Jur	1 60	Scribe
Benjamin	Stevens	1 30	Taylor
Stephen	Frances	1 25	Barber
John	Jepson	1 30	Taylor
Jonathan	Simons	1 30	Dito
Benjamin	Procter	1 50	
James	Yancey	1 120	No 8 Shop
Moses	Peck	1 200	Watchmaker
Widow	Greenlef	2 150	Apothacary
William	Scolley	1 100	Dito
Oliver	Smith	2 250	Dito
John	Bright	1 250	Shop
Widow	Price	200	
Widow	Loring	140	
Peter	Aldove	2 300	Merchant
Benjamin	Goodwin	1 150	No 8 Merchant
Benjamin	Goodwin Junr	1	
William	Turner	1 200	
Robert	Brick	1	Board War
Joseph	Goodwin	1	Trader
Henry	Goodwin	1	Dito
Peter	Roberts	1 140	Docter
Benjamin	Waldow	1 60	
Zachr	Brigdon	1 200	Goldsmith
Jonathan	Hastings	1 80	Poste Office
Edward	Green	1 140	
Boston	Smith	1	
Spencer	Walker	1 60	Docter
Mrs	Browns	160	
Widow	Frazer	200	
Colo	Henley	1	Merchant
John	Codman	1 40	Dito
Norborough	Frazer	1	
Joseph	Otis	1	
Barnibus	Otis	1 80	Sadler
Oliver	Bruster	1 100	Shop
Samuel	Bradstreet	1 100	Dito
Danl Denison	Rogers	2 100	Merchant

Royal	Tyler	1		
Mrs	Minot	100		
Caleb	Blanchard	1 270	No 8	Merchant
Ebenezer	Hancock	2 200		
John	Erving Esqr	1 250		
Patrick	Conner	1		
Solomon	Davis	2 250		Merchant
Edward	Davis Junr	1		
Nicholas	Bowes	2 260		Shop
Robert	Muckelroy	3 160		Tobaconist
Jacob	Wendell	1 25		Scribe
Lennerd	Jervis	2 200		Merchant
Adam	Babcock	1 450		Dito
Gabriel	Hulm	1		
David	Jeffries	1 150		
Samuel	Dunn	1 250		Merchant
Thomas	Rufsell	3 400		Dito
Chambers	Rufsell	1		
William	Allen	40		Merchant
James	Allen	1 150		Dito
Jeremiah	Allen	2 90		Dito
John	Brown Esqr	1		Board War
Widow	Alford	30		
William	Rugles	1 50		
Estate Joseph	Sheirbourn	250		
William	Phillips Esqr	2 350		Merchant
John	Kneeland	1 80		
Daniel	Parks	1 40		Shoemaker
Elisha	Blackman	1		Gone to Stoughn
James	Bowdoine Esqr	2 400		Gentleman
Richard	Tilage	1		
George	Hamlin	1 60		Keeps horses
Samuel	Curtis	1 20		
Paul	Farmer	1		
Prince	Watts	1		
Ebo	Fairfield	1		
John Luis	Glappeon	1 15		
Hone John	Hancock	1 400		Merchant
Winthrop	Gray	1		
Samuel	White	2 250		Dito
Ephrim	Fennow	1 25		
William	Sutton	1 30		
Martin	Brimmer	2 250		Dito
James	Peirkins	1 400		Dito
Samuel	Peirkins	1		Dito
Daniel	Hubbard	2 250		Dito
Henry	Davidson	1 40		Taylor
Zephr	Thayer	2 200		Shop
William	Fleet	1 30		
Thomas	Fleet	1 70		Printer
John	Hunt	1 250		Shop
Shrimpton	Hunt Junr	1		

Elisha	Sigorney	1	150	Shop
Nicholas	Tabb	2	90	Taylor
Levi	Jennings	1	90	Shop
Gideon	Thayer	1	100	Dito
John	Procter	1	220	Trader
Samuel	Whitwell	1	250	Shop
Jonathan	Mason	2	360	Merchant
Jonathan	Mason Junr	1	200	Lawyer
Thomas	Knight		50	
George	Tyler	1	120	Goldsmith
Pepperrell	Tyler	1	30	Trader
Joseph	Tyler	1	30	Dito
Benjamin	Goldthwait	2	200	Shop
Edmund	Brown			
Edward	Renough	1	130	Shoemaker
Joseph	Billings	2	200	Taylor
John	Peters			
Thomas	Rufsell	1	250	Taylor
Winslow	Warrin	1		Trader
John	Furnice	1	50	Scribe
	Gorden	1	10	
Robert	Jenkins	1	180	Merchant
William	Palfrey		150	Armey
John	Joy	2	300	Apothecory
Henry	Allen	1	120	Scribe
William	Burk			
John	Stutson	1	120	Carpenter
Nathl	Willis	1	200	Printer
John	Johnson	1	150	Painter
Daniel	Rea	1	60	Taylor
Stephen	Greenleaf	2	50	Dito
Samuel	Pritchard	1	60	Dean
Daniel	Rand	1	15	Barber
John	Williams		80	Lame
John	Maud	1	30	Taylor
Mary	Henley		80	
Joseph	Chapman	1	80	
Joseph	Chapman Junr	1		
Charles	Shiming	1	80	No 7
Nathl	Peirce	1	300	Scool Master
Edward	Payne	2	250	Trader
Edward	Davis	1	200	Noter pubk
Widow	Stevens		150	
John	Coburn	2	280	Goldsmith
Widow	Hughes		180	
James	Hughes	1		
John	Marstin	1	400	Tavern
Joseph	Rufsell	1	300	Merchant
Cezer	} Negros	1		
Theophiles		1		with Rufsel
David	Ramsdale	1	150	Taylor
Isaiah	Doan	1	150	Merchant

William	Fenneley	1	20	
William	White	1	20	
John	Gordin	1	15	
Thomas	Popkins	2	100	Blacksmith
Benjamin	Popkins	1		
John	Arnold	1	60	Joyner
Pool	Spear	1	60	Taylor
Jeremiah	Rufsell	1		
William	Day	1	40	Ship Boston
John	Ingersol Jur	1	100	Trader
David	Spear	2	200	Cooper
Samuel	Hosey	1	30	Shop

WARD 10

Willm	Donnet	1	45	Blacksmith
Thomas	Rice	1	60	Shop
Wm	Dennie	1	150	Mercht
John	Merchant	1	80	Ditto
Gilbert	Deblois Junr	2		Ditto
Gilbert	Deblois		150	Gone
Benja	Callender	1	50	Tailor
Isaac	Tuckerman*	1	20	Conductr
Isaac	Tuckerman Junr	1	60	Ditto
Benja	Vincent	1	120	
Moses	Gill		300	
John	Willson	1	80	Sea Capt
John	Moise	1		Labourr
Benajah	Davenport	1	25	Sheriff
Joseph	Coolidge	1	200	Mercht
Nathl	Barret	2	300	Do
Jerh	Powell Esqr	1	100	President
Thos	Merrit Negro	1		wth Do
Andrew	Oliver	1	130	Trader
John	Winslow	1	20	Do
Nicho	Winslow	1	70	Tailor
Ebenr	Eayres	1	12 : 10	Carptr
Richd	Bright	1	60	Joiner
John	Daffin	1	25	Painter
Eleazr	Johnson	1	120	Board War
Andrew	Black	1		Mercht
Doctr Charles	Jarvis	1	140	
Shubael	Hews	1	100	Tallow Chandr
Henry	Gardner Esqr	1		Trear
Wm	Coffin's Estate		40	
Dennis	Flyn	0	x	Privateerg
Saml	Connant	3	300	Baker
Saml	Connant Junr	1		Scribe
Elifha	Cowley	1	100	Tailor

* Gon to Springfd.

Barnabas	Webb	1 140	Goldfmrh
John	Boyle	1 140	Bookbindr
John	Dawbeney	1	
Widow	Carnes	0 140	Shop
Benja	Clarke	1	Hatter
James	Raymer	40	Chandr
Sam ^l	Partridge	1 120	Shop
Sam ^l	Doggett	2 80	Do
Thos	Thompson	1 100	Dyer
Richd	Brown	1	Rigger
John	Williams	2 250	Mercht
Isaac	Greenwood	2 120	Turnr
Wm	Fillis	1 60	Cutler
Wm	Laughton	1 20	Tailor
Ambrose	Vincent	1 100	Olim Officer
Thos	Chapman	1 150	Chaise Makr
Jona	Chapman	1 £7 : 10	
Adam	Collfon	1 120	Leathr Drisr
Rufus	Tower	1	wth Do
John	Ballard	2 150	Horse Keepr
Sam ^l	Sellon	1 150	Shop
Wm	Spooner	1 250	Mercht
John	Cutler	2 240	Foundr
Benja	Clarke	1	Mercht
Partrik	Conner	1 70	
Calvin	White	1 100	
Joshua	Beals	1 20	
John	McDougle	1 100	
Estate of Dan ^l	Boyer	120	
Thos	Crane	1 115	
Francis	Biglow	1 80	
Ebenr	White	1 10	
John	Hodgson	1	
Nath ^l	Fosdick	1 80	
John	Cooper	1 25	
James	Whalon	1	
Wm	Phillips Junr	1 200	
John	Read	2 300	
John	Read Junr	1 100	
Hector	McNeil Esqr	2 150	
Swett	Hooper	1	
Dr John	Lynn	1	
Nath ^l	Foster	1 30	
Edwd	Jones	1 150	
Joshua	Davis	0 60	
James	Grayham	1	
Thos	Wilkinson	1	
John	Mellus	1 25	
Thos	Uran	1 20	
Joseph	Shed	1 40	
John	Fleet	1 90	
James	Newell	1 40	

Joseph	Newell	1	
Edwd Compton	How	0	Taken in 11
Ralph	O'Donnel	1	40
Thos	Sanders Negro	1	
Nathl	Wales	1	
Nathan	Spear	4	250
Nathan	Spear Junr	1	80
Benja	Colman	1	
Wm	Colman	1	60
Joseph	Rufsell	2	150
Thos	Clement	2	150
Belsa	French	1	
Simon	Hall	1	30
	Wells	1	
George	Miles	1	30
Joseph	Webber	1	50
Abner	Pease	1	60
Andrew	Gardner	1	140
Ebenr	Torrey	1	30
Wm	Brown	1	
Henry	Simpson	1	40
Stephen	Ketchum	1	70
Thos	Walley	1	250
Charles	Miller	1	180
David	Jones	1	60
Stephen	Hall	3	300
Joseph	Henderson	2	120
Benja	Peirce	1	50
Ebet	Sprague	1	30
Benja	Blake	1	40
Saml	Wallis	1	250
Saml	Bangs	2	160
Wm	Fallas	1	60 N 12
Joseph	Webb	1	270
Jacob	Williams	1	170
John	Bulfinch		30
Saml	Hewes	3	300
Joseph	Ruggles	2	120
Saml	Howard	2	180
George	Wallace	1	25
Saml	Smith	1	120
Wm	Penniman	1	
Simon	Eliot	3	160
Saml	Dillaway	1	40
Thos	Crofbv	1	15
Widow	Low		30
Jeffry	Richardfon	1	100
Briggs	Hollowell	1	50
Danl	Sargent	1	160
Peter	Thwing	1	
John	Richey	1	
Nathl	Cudworth	1	50

Robt	McNeil	150	
Thos	Gardner	1	30
John	Clinton	1	30
Philip	Barnard	1	12 : 10
Job	Wheelwright	2	90
John	Smith	1	50
James	Perkins	1	20
Jona	Sargent	1	20
John	Tuttle	1	
Thos	Green	1	100
Phillip	Winthrop	1	
Joshua	Bellows	1	20
Isaac	Turrell	1	
John	Hayden	1	
Bofsengr	Foster	1	240
Edwd	Blanchard	1	80
Ebenr	Woodward	3	135
Fortune	Howard	1	
Isaac	Spear	1	
Isaac	Smith	1	
Nathl	Appleton	2	120
Nathl Walker	Appleton	1	
Stephen	Bruce	1	240
Timo	Pease Junr	1	16 : 13 : 4
John	McClure	1	12 : 10
James	Lamb	1	200
Thos	Lamb	1	
Widow	Bourn		100
David	Parker	1	
James	Casneau	1	150
Winter	Calef	1	40
Edmund	Duncan	1	250
Jona	Webb	1	
John	Boyse	3	300
Willm	Miller	2	300
Ebenr	Still	1	
Widow	Polley		60
John	Cushing	2	300
James	Swan	2	240
Benja	Barnard	2	90
Robt	Stevens A D	1	
Robt	Wyre	1	25
Solomon	Hews	1	20
Timo	Pease	1	20
Benja	Phillips	2	150
Capt John	Young	1	200 In No 7
Willm	Tudor	2	40 In No 9
John	Merrit	1	30 No 3 North Ende
Thos	Harlow	1	40
Benja	Cushing	1	60
Oliver	Wiswall	1	50
Thos	Wiswall	1	

Edwd	Oliver	1	30
Ebenr	Cushing	1	
John	Fullerton	1	50
John	Holland	2	30
John	Holland Junr	1	
Honl, Saml	Adams	1	100
Wm	Hickling		50
Leml X	Cox X		X
James	Tewksbury	1	50
Widow	Johnson		20
Afa	Harlow	1	40
Jerh	Smallage	1	40
Widow	Thayer		40
Joseph	Sargent	1	30
Paul	Spear	1	70
Ebenr	Foster	2	80
Alexr	Willson	1	70
Widow	Hulme		60
Saml	Fenno	1	100
Arthur	Cane	1	16: 13: 4
David	Cane	1	
John	Ingersol	1	50
Joseph	Spear	1	20
John	Pulling Junr	0	060
Jona	Read	1	60
Robt	Williams	1	90
Benja	Homans	1	60
Thomas	Read	1	20
Thomas	Read Junr	1	
Brackley	Read	1	
Edwd	Read	1	
Richd	Welden	2	60
John	Tufts	1	90
John	Peck	1	40
John	Magner	2	180
Joseph	Mountany	1	25
Israel	Loring	1	70
Alexr	Mackay	1	150
James	Thwing	1	160
Nathl	Thwing	1	
Saml	Thwing	1	
Danl	Thwing	1	
Saml	Clap	1	30
Thos	Knox Negro	1	
Ceasar	Torrey	1	
John	Torrey	1	20
Ebenr	Torrey	2	150
Prince	Hall Negro	1	16: 13: 4
Primus	Hall Do	1	
Ceasar	Fleet Do	1	
Francis	Vandale	1	40
Mathew	Clarke	3	100

Peter Rowe	Dalton	I 120	
Benja	Call X	0 00	X In No 8
James	Dalton	I 150	
Nathan	Green	I 80	
Seth	Sampson	I	
Mordecai	Blackwell	I	Crofs Street
Willm	Andrews	I 50	
John	Armstrong	I	
Stephen	Minot	I 40	
Erafmus	Peirce	I 280	
Gilbt Warner	Spikeman	I 40	

WARD 11

John	Sebring	2 100	
John	Stedman	I 60	Docter
Mary	Williams	80	Shop
John	Adams	I 80	Dito
Samuel	Dashwood	I 120	Dito
Dr Joseph	Gardner	I 300	
Foster	Swift	I	
William	Haslet	I	
Jonathan	Cole	I 50	Merchant
David	Devings	I 55	Dito
Timothy	Goodwin	I	
Lancaster	Hill	30	
Peter	Fabre	I 150	Dito
Gillam	Taylor	I 100	Dito
Christipher	Clark	I 100	Dito
Obediah	Curtis	2 120	Shop
William	Rogers	I 90	Chasemaker
William	Jones	I 16 : 13 : 4	At sea
Zacheus	Dunnil	I 50	Trader
Jacob	Dunnil	I	Sea Captn
Honl Thomas	Cushing	2 200	
Thomas	Cushins Junr	I 60	Merchant
Henry	Newman	I 60	Dito
Richard	Gridley Esqr	60	
Scarborough	Gridley	I	
John	Clark	I 100	Buttnemaker
William	Molineux	2 300	Merchant
John	Molineux	I	Dito
Samuel	a Negro	I	
Joseph	Davis	I 50	Blacksmith
Mary	Hall	30	
Thomas	Foster	I 60	
Edward	Draper	I 80	Printer
Edward	Sohier	2 130	Shop
James	Morrill	I 250	Shop
William	Morrill	I	Dito
Charles	Geyer	I 120	

Andrew	Current	1		Merchant
Charles	Mareane	1	Nº 9	Dito
Moses	Wallock	1		Trader
Samson	Read	1	60	Dito
David	Townsend	2	200	Watchmaker
Samuel	Whitwell Junr	2	200	Merchant
Jonathan	Amory	4	480	Dito
John	Green	1	100	Printer
John	Coverly	1		
John	Crosby	1	20	
Josiah	Crosby	1		Shop
James	Kenney	2	60	Wheelwright
Cornelius	Fellows	1	130	Shop
Richard	Green	2	100	Merchant
Stephen	Cleverly	1	100	Dito
William Wait	Wallace	1	120	Shop
William	Vernon		100	
John	Jones	1	35	
Samuel	Holbrook	1	60	
William	Swett	1	30	
Thomas	Smith	1	15	
Stephen	Greenleaf	2	300	
Samuel	Ballard	1	250	Taylor
Daniel	Sears	1		N 8 Merchant
Thomas	Bumsted Esqr	2	250	Chasemaker
Nathl	Frothingham	1	60	Dito
Nathl	Frothingham Junr	1		Dito
Timothy Martin	Minott	1		Dito
Thomas	Harris	1	60	Trader
Isaac	Call	1		
James	Austin*	1	20	Goldsmith
Thomas	Cowley	1	50	Taylor
Joseph	Powers	1		
John	Brockus	1		
John	Bears	0	20	
John	Bears Junr	1		
Dr Joseph	Whipple	1	60	
Dr Elias	Willerd	1	60	
Antony	Morse	1		
Sarah	Gould		40	
Nathl Byfield	Loyde	1	100	
Joseph	Barrill	2	280	Merchant
George	Bendor	1		
Widow	Griffin		60	
Samuel	Clark	2	220	Dito
Nathl	Green	1	220	Dito
Samuel	Barrett	2	300	Dito
Dor Isaac	Foster		150	
Ebenezer	Hancock	1		Mason
Daniel	Hews	1		Dito

* Moved to Watertown.

Richard	McClure			
William	Baker	1		Shoemaker
John	Gammill	1	12 : 10	Carpenter
Edward Cumston	How	2	40	Ropemaker
John	Green		20	Laberor
R. Wodsworth	Stimpson	1	80	Shop
Victor	Blair	1	20	Ropemaker
Herry	Flagg	1	30	Baker
Lewis	Follings		20	
William	Hart	1		
John	Carter	2		Merchant
Joseph	Spear Junr	3	50	Cooper
William	McClure	1	15	Sea Capt
William	McNeill	1	250	Ropemaker
Eliphelet	Flint	2	25	Cooper
John	Whitten	2	25	Gunfsmith
John	Crosley	1	50	Ropemaker
John	Crosley Junr	1		
William	Tate	1		
Joseph	Lowden	1		
Arch ^l	McNeill	2	60	
Daniel	Ingersoll Junr	1	20	
Daniel	Ingersoll	2	40	
Ebenezer	Batchelder	2	100	
Robert	Gardner	1	100	
Samuel	Robertson	1		
Abel	Robertson	1	10	
Mungo	Mackey	2	450	Merchant
Sollomon	Cotten	1	80	Blacksmith
Joseph	Cotten	1		
John	Calfe	1		
Joseph	Powell	1		
Peter	Hunnewell		20	
Christopher	Kenneday	1	15	
Mrs	Marstirs		25	
William	Marstirs	1	15	
Benjamin	Salt		30	
James	Tate	0	50	
Thomas	Foster	1	16 : 13 : 4	
Joseph	Petty	1		
Jeremiah	Green Esqr	1	60	
Jeremiah	Green Junr	1		
Joseph	Green	1		
Joseph	Whitemore	2	30	Cooper
John	Gray	2	360	Ropemaker
Edmond	Ranger	1	70	Carpenter
Capt	Sears	1	20	
Samuel	Jenkins	1		Dito
John	Williston	1	12 : 10	Cooper
Thomas	Dawes Esqr	1	200	Lawyer
Joseph	Blake	1		
Francis	Gray	1	45	

John	Champney	1	30	
Thomas	Tileston	1	260	
John	Tileston	1	130	
Levi	Hercy	1	25	Shoemaker
Joseph	Peirce	1	160	Merchant
Nehemiah	Somes	1	100	Dito
James	Barrett		20	
Joshua	Barrett		20	
John	Muckelroy	1	50	Cooper
James	Tower		20	
Samuel	Searl	1	30	Taylor
Onephephores	Tileston	1		
Joell	Cushing	1		
John	Stevens	1		
Jonathan	Davis	2	50	Merchant
John	Crawford		50	
Benjamin	Allen	1		
John	Brewer	1	30	Blockmar
James	Brewer	1	30	
Mrs	Longley		30	
George	Longley	1	30	Trader
David	Wyre	1	20	
David	Allen A D			
James	Ray	1		
William	Morten A D			
Robert	Oliver	1	12 : 10	
Joseph	Balch	1	30	Sailmaker
Isaiah	Audbert	1		
William	Foster	3	280	Merchant
John R	Livingston	2	180	Dito
Peter	Doliver	1	50	Trader
Alexander	Hodgdon	1	30	Dito
Samuel	Hodgdon		30	
Henry	Mitchell	2	200	Merchant
Samuel	Ruggles	1	60	Dito
John	McLane	1	40	
William	McCarty	2	180	Dito
Daniel	Crosby	2	70	Barber
John	Deming	1	80	Scribe
Dr John	Warrin	1	70	
Col Josiah	Waters	1	250	Merchant
Richard	Devings Esqr	1	120	Comefary
Benjamin	Church		60	
William	Todd	1	40	
Nathl	Coverly	1	20	
Samuel	Richards	1	10	Shop
John	Wheeler	1	20	Mason
Ebenezer	Hinkley	1	100	Trader
William	Saxton	1		Dito
John	Means	1	15	
Thomas	Apleton	1	20	Carpenter
Daniel	Adams	1	40	Hatter

John	Rowe Esqr	1 480	Merchant
William	Knight	1 40	Tallow Cr
John	Bell	1 12 : 10	Carpenter

WARD 12

Cyrus	Negro*	1 15	Shop
George	Crofts	1	Labourer
William	Cunningham	1 50	Glasier
Edward	Baker	1 30	
William	Burrl	1	
John	Lewis	1 10	Sand Man
George	Pirkins	1	Labour
William	McCurtain	1	In the Miflin
John	Gilbert	1	Lobster Man
Edward	May	1	Labourer
Jacob	Hetrick	1	Miflin
Thos	Nettleton	1 30	
H Christian	Geyer	1 30	Stone Cutter
Joseph	Morton	1 200	Tavern
John	Avory Esqr	1 200	Distiller
John	Avory Junr	1	D Secrety
Thomas	Chase Esqr	1 70	Conl Army
John	Rolestone	1 70	Watch Maker
John	Waldo Esqr	1 200	Merchant
Ephraim	Moore	1	Train
Abel	Moore	1 10	
Martin	Bicker	1 300	Trader
Josiah	Fowl	1	Barber
Agustus	Moore	1 200	Tavern
Hermion	Brimmer	1 200	Shop
Andrew	Jackson	1	Labourer
John	Innes	1	Glazr — Labor
Benjamin	Hodgkins	1	Shomaker
William	Baxter	1 20	Blaksmith
Samuel	Cookson	1 150	Brazier
John	Hobbs	1 20	Blacksmith at Mill Bridge
Widdow	Jhonot	200	
George	Jhonot	1	Shopkeeper
Henry	Johnson	1	
Francis	Jhonot	1	
John	Hopkins	1 200	with Coll Chace
Samuel	Sprague	1	Merchant
David	Wheeler	2 80	Trader
Abijah	Hammond	1 80	Retailor
Joseph	Green	1 150	Merchant
Robert	Williams	1 150	Trader
William	Hager	1 15	Carter
Nathl	Wheeler	1 15	Smith
John	Hunt	1 275	Difstiller

* Milk Street.

John	Fenno	I	60	Scribe
Thomas	Wheeler	I	30	Smith
Josiah	Torrey	I	60	Collector
Josiah	Allin	I	30	Tanner
Samuel	Torrey	I		Ditto
John	Blake	I	30	Fisherman
Ezra	Parmenter	I		
Samuel	Dow	I		} Continental
Peter	Mackintosh	I		} Smiths
William	Powell	I	250	Merchant
Ebenezer	Simpson		40	Taylor
John	Trask *	I		Contl Smith
Robert	Price	I		Fisherman
Joseph	Goddard	I		Ditto
James	Collings Jur	I		Taylor
John	Haldin	I	40	Braizer
Adam	Eyers	I	12 : 10	Turner
Edward	Curtis	I		Fisherman
Joseph	Curtis	I	25	Ditto
Nicholas	Peirce	I		Mayson
Joseph	Brown	I		Labourer
Samuel	Blake	I		Fisherman
John	Denton	I		B. Smith
Benjamin	Wheeler	I	20	Barber
Benjamin	Wheeler Jur	I		Scribe
David	Moesley	I	20	Goold Smith
Paul	Revere Esqr	2	50	
Rosanna	Moore		30	Retailer
John	Gooch		75	Commay Forrage
Samuel	Wells Esqr	2	200	
Ebenezer	Oliver	I	150	Shopkeeper
William	Lowder	I	60	
Benjamin	Lowder	I		
Henry	Skinner	I		
William	Pattin	I	30	
John	Smith	I		Small Shop
Elijah	Marsh	I	30	Ditto
Jotham	Hawton	I	40	Black Smith
William	Mills	I	20	Goold Smith
John	Bryant	2	325	Trader
Jeremiah	Stimpson	I	30	Carpenter
Jacob	Cole	I	50	Sea Capt
John	Corbett	I	20	Truckman
George	Lush	I	80	Tanner
Samuel	Hastings	I	30	Shop
Enoch	May	I		Carpenter
Robert	Fairfervis	I	40	Sand Man
James	Wheeter	I	7 : 10	
Robert	Fearfervis Jur	I		Chair Maker
Samuel	Healey	2	35	Coopper

* movd to Sudbury.

Benjamin	Veafey	1	12 : 10	Chair Maker
John	Veasey	1		Ditto
Samuel	Fenno	1	25	Carpenter
John	Hartwick	1		Labr with Hews
Abraham	Suncry	1		Fisherman
George	Kuhn	1		Labourer
Timothy	Tileston	1		Leather Briches Maker
Joseph	Lovering	3	50	Taller Chander
William	Hill	2	20	Wheelwright
Abijah	Crane	1	30	Carpenter
Col John	Crane		30	Armey
Nathl	Bradley	1	30	Carpenter
Robert	Lamb	1	90	Currier
Henderson	Inchis	2	150	Merchant
John	Fareservis	1	90	Shop
Samuel	Green	1		Jornyman Baker
Zachah	Johonot	1	150	
Cezar	Negro	1		
Ebenezer	Seaver	1	200	Trader
Peter	Geyer	1	60	Ditto
Nathl	Cobbett	1	30	Keeps Lodgers
Joseph	Pope	1	60	Clock maker
Samuel	Pope	1	40	Blak Smith
Nathl	Bozworth	1		Sea Capt
James	Bird	1		Journeyman Currier
Jack	Negro	1		
Hopestill	Foster	1	100	Trader
Nathl	Phillips	1	25	Apothacary
Saml	Emmons Jur	1		Rope maker
Nathan	Bradley	1		Shoe maker
Aaron	May	1	20	Hay Wayer
Samuel	Norton	0	30	Trader
Nathl	Gilbirt	0		with Ditto
Joseph	Clark	1	20	Lodgers
Samuel	Wheeler	1	25	Shomaker
Josiah	Wheeler	1	15	Continental Carpenr
William	Gooch	1	150	Shopkeeper
John	Geyer	1	15	Sea Man
Samuel	Brown	1		A. D. Ditto
Thos	Stowell	1		Carpenter
John	Stowell *	1		Ditto
Richard	Gridley	1	50	Black Smith
Jacob	Goold	1		Rider
Nathan	Plymton	0		Nothing
Robert	Wise	1	200	Distiller
William	Plympton	0		
Richard	Gardner	1	50	Trader
William	Donnison	1	50	No 9 Ditto
Isaac	White	2	50	T chandler
William	Crane	1	10	Labourer

* with Coll Brewer.

Ephraim	Thayer	1	10	Wheelwright
Edward	Blake	1	10	Carpenter
James	Blake	1	10	Ditto
Nathl	Sparhawk	1	50	Trader
George	Sparhawk	1		with Ditto
Charles	Simpson	1		Smith
Joseph	Payson	1		Carpenter
John	Davis	1	12 : 10	Shop
Saml	Marsh	1	40	Labourer
Ebenr	Dorr	1	60	Trader
Stephen	Gore	2	60	Currier
Joseph	Jackson	2	25	Tobacconist
Ebenezer	Crofsby	1		Labourer
Joseph	Pierpont	1	120	Trader
Israil	Mead	1	30	Ditto
Stephen	Harris	2	40	Baker
Joseph	Dorr	1	40	Leathr Drefser
John	Boson	1	25	Barber
Theodore	Barrell	1	70	Shopkeeper
Nathl	Davis	1	25	Ditto
John	Lucas	1	80	Comifsy &c
Lemuel	Cravath	2	50	
William	Brown	1	50	Trader
William	Dall	1	50	Shop keeper
William	Billings	1	30	Singing Master
Jeames	Cunningham	1	40	Trader
Josiah	Brown	1	30	Ditto
Peter	Cunningham	1	40	Ditto
Robert	Davis	2	30	Leathr Drefsor
Isaac	Bird	1		Shomaker
William	Bird	1		Briches Maker
Edward	Tuckerman	2	100	Baker
James	Indicott	1		with Ditto
Jacob	Fox	1	60	Trader
Nathl	Gardner	1		Ditto
Joshua	Farington	2	100	Ditto
Thomas	Spear Jur	1		Smith
Aaron	Blaney	2	200	Trader
John	Parker	1	50	Trader
Nathl	Curtis	1	70	Ditto
Caleb	Davis Esqr	2	140	Ditto
Rember	Preston	1		Ditto with Do
Benjamin	Cobb	2	60	Distiller
Amasa	Davis	1	150	Trader
Joshua	Witherly	4	400	Trader &c
Samuel	May	2	60	Lumber
Ebenezer	Perry	1	45	Trader
Mofes	May	1	35	Afsefsor
John	May	1	75	Trader
William	Marshall	1	90	Ditto
Philip	Eckert	1		Carpenter
Coll Joshua	Davis	1	40	Army

Obadiah	Thayer	1	30	Trader
Enoch	Pond	1	20	School master
Thomas	Bayley	1	40	Carpenter
Thomas	Speer	1	35	Black Smith
Nathl	Wheeler	1	15	Taylor
Joseph	Field	1	40	Trader
John	Stimpson	2	25	Carpenter
Stephen	Wales	1	40	Trader
Arnald	Wells Esqr	2	250	Merchant
Jerimiah	Gore	1	40	Truckman
Joseph	Bradford	1	60	Shopkeeper
Ebenezer	Pope	1	35	Taylor
Estis	Pope	1		Ditto
Nathl	Shepard	1		Small Shop
Elijah	Searle	1		Ditto
Thomas	Curtis	1		Fisherman
James	Steel	0	25	Dead
Charles	Wyman	1	15	Truckman
William	McFaddin	1		Saxton
Saml	Sprague	1	20	Trader
Ede	Venevel	1		Seaman
Nathl	Wales	1	30	Carpenter
Paul Dudley	Richards	1	20	Still Hous F Man
Henry	Geyer	1	10	Fisherman
Widow	Lear		20	
Thomas	Amory	2	480	Distiller
Josiah	Knap	1	50	Trader
Mrs	Wharton		20	
Gustavous	Fellows	1	220	Distiller
Henry	Bafs	1	150	Trader
Dor Benjn	Curtis	1	80	Dockter
Ephraim	Seager	2		Taylor
Ephraim	Seager Jur	0		with Ditto
John	Fenno Jur	3	30	Shomaker
William	Porter	1	400	Trader
Daniel	Bates	2	45	Leather Drefser
Thomas	Wadsworth	1	12 : 10	Currier
Benjamin	Green	1	160	Merchant
Timothy	Blackborn	1		Fisherman
Jacob	Flick	1		Labourer
Ebenezer	Graves	1	No 8	Ditto
Moses Belcher	Bafs	1	25	Shop
John	Harskins	2	300	Distiller
Joseph	Sprague	1		Glazier
James	Hewings	1		Seaman
Jonathan	Pallard	1	50	Merchant
Robert	Robinson	2	60	Tanner
Elias	Warner	1	180	Mercht
Samuel	Goold	1		with Ditto
Matthew	James	0	30	Shomaker
Rufus	Bent	1	25	Rider
Saml	Broom	0	120 No 10	Mercht

Robert	Smallpeice	1		Seaman
John	McFaddin	1	30	Leathr Drefser
Jerome	Ripley	1		Taylor &c
John	Mackintosh	1		Seaman
Noah	Price	0	20	Poor
Fradrick	Goodenough	1		Seaman
George	Lush Jur	1	25	Tanner
Capt	Callihan	1	100	Sea Capt
William	Jolly	1	80	Trader
	Tillysack	1		with Ditto
Robert	Hews	1	200	Tallow Chandler
Benjamin	Rofs	1		with Ditto
Caleb	Ray	1	60	Carpenter
Philip	Freeman Jur	1	100	Shopkeeper
Jonathan	Williams*	1	40	Apothycary
George Fred	Sieder	1	20	Shop
Jonathan	Kenny	1	No 9	with Ditto
Fradrick	Nodlet			Seaman
	Chanel	1		Ditto
Lewis	Fenno	0	30	Oald
John	Avory	1	45	Trader
Elisha	Fenno	1		Carpenter
William	Johonot	1	100	Brewer
Andrew	Henshaw	1	40	Shopkeeper
William	Fesendon	1	20	Contl Carter
Benjamin	Prichard	1		Conductor
William	Erwin	1	15	Waggoner
William	Clark	2	70	Cardmaker
Israil	Cook	1	70	Coopper
Cristopher	Frankford Jur	1	12 : 10	Ditto
Joel	Hager	1		Waggoner
John	Butterfield	1	30	Waggon Master
John	Sweetser	2	200	Merchant
John	Smith	2	40	Truckman
John	Smith Jur	1	15	Copper
John	Trench	1		Carpenter
Edward	Malem	1		Mayson
Christian	Frankford	1	Dead	Labourer
Benjamin	Adams	1	25	Shopkeeper
Ebenezer	White	1		Taylor
Abraham	Adams	1	60	Leathr Drefser
Peter	Domack	1	30	Shop keeper
Docter	Georgus	1	30	Docter
Dimond	Morton	1	100	Trader
John	Skinner	1	80	Pewterer
Edward	Holyoak	1		Scribe
John	Bartlett	1	60	Trader
Jonathan	Barnerd ‡	1		with Ditto
John	Osborn	1	80	Painter
Thomas	Allin	1	30	Taylor

* gon to Sweedland.

† at ye Salutation.

‡ gon to Maryland.

William	Kitchen	1	40	Baker
Nathan ^l	Wardwell	1		with Ditto
George	Rex	1		with Ditto
Levy	Beels	1	25	Carpenter
Cristopher	Brazier Jur	1		Mafon
John	White*	1	80	Gardner
Thomas	Ruggles	1	30	Trader
Wilford	Fishert	1		Seaman
David	Mory	1		
Thomas	Downs	1	15	Retailer
Widow	Hill	0	100	
Thomas	Hill	1	400	Distiller
Sarson	Belcher	1	80	Hatter
Coll Thos	Crafts	1	100	Trader
Cristopher	Gore	1		No 8 Attorney
John	Grant†	1		Seaman
Henry	Hill	2	300	Distiller
Capt Sam ^l	Pane	2	50	Trader
Michael	Burn	1	20	Shop
Joseph	Barrett	1	80	Sale maker
Capt Robert	Robbins	1	160	Merc
Jonat ⁿ Darby	Robbins	1		Ditto
Thomas	Oliver	1		Caulker
David	Oliver	1		Mast maker
Thomas	Powell	1	80	Rigger
John	Preston	1	90	Select Man
William	King	1	50	Wharffinger
John	Foster	1	20	Taylor
Nicholas	Farriter	1	25	Rope maker
John	Smith	1	25	Carter
Samuel	Lane	1		Rope maker
Edward	Allin	1		Carpenter
Jacob	Ama	1		
Samuel	Dyer	1	35	
John	Blackman	0	20	Shipwright
John	Drayton	1	30	
Benjamin	Bates	1	30	Seaman
Noah	Doggett	1	30	
John	Rice	2	40	Black Smith
John	Rice Jur	1		Arney
Edward	Rice	1		Seaman
William	Rice	1		No 11 Jorbyn Smith
David	Gardner	1		Shipwright
Elijah	Adams	1		Saxton
Sam ^l	Calf	1		Seaman
Jabez	Hatch	1	120	Wharffenger
Eli	Thayer	1		wth Ditto
Widow	Hatch	0	200	
Martin	Geyer	1		
Thomas	Shepard	1		Baker

* gone to Newby.

† gon to Philadelpha.

‡ gone to Sea.

John	Griggs	1	Labourer
	Hartwick	1	Ditto
Edward	Dolbeir	1	Ditto
Thomas	Smith	0 20	Ditto
Daniel	Calf	1 12 : 10	Carpenter
Jacob	Whipple	1 15	Labourer
Uriah	Oakes	1 40	Merchant
John	Melledge	1 20	B. Smith
Thomas	Clark	1	Goold Smith
William	Elison	1 25	Carpenter
Moses	Eyers	1 25	Ditto
John	Drew	1	Shipwright
Christian	Powers	1	Labourer
George	Franks	1	Ditto
Thomas	Bradley	1	Shomaker
Benjamin	James	1	Ditto
William	Persons	1 20	Seaman
Enoch	Hows*	1 12 : 10	Sea Capt
Widow	Bradley	0 30	
James	Trask	1	Contnl Carter
William	Corbett	1 25	Coopper
Benjamin	White	1 15	Scribe
Benjamin	White Jur	1	N End
Benjamin	Hawton	1	Carpenter
James	Richinson	1 50	Commy Provisions
Ebenezer	Muckelroy	1 15	Coopper
Richard	Hunnewell	2 35	Maſon
Cutbert	Ingelsby	1 30	Taylor
Samuel	Duncalf	1	Sexton
George	Vaughan	1	Contl Carter
John	Brown	1	Seaman
James	Thompson	1 40	Collector
John	Corbett	1 25	Carter
Joseph	Beels L. Island	500	Farmer

* N. End.



THE NARRATIVE
OF
GENERAL GAGE'S SPIES

MARCH, 1775, WITH NOTES

BY
JEROME CARTER HOSMER



Thos. Page.



THE NARRATIVE OF GEN. GAGE'S SPIES, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER,
OLD STATE HOUSE, DECEMBER 8, 1903, BY

JEROME CARTER HOSMER



ON the afternoon of March 6, 1770—the day following the “Boston Massacre”—an immense Town-meeting gathered in the old Faneuil Hall; it proved too small to hold the crowd of excited citizens, and they speedily adjourned to the Old South Meeting-house. Governor Hutchinson, looking out from one of the windows of the Council Chamber in the Old State House,—the room where we have met to-day,—watched the thronging multitude as it passed up King street. Describing it, he said, “Their spirit seemed to be as high as was that of their ancestors when they imprisoned Andros, while they were four times as numerous.” He had promised to remove the offending regiment, but when

Samuel Adams brought back to him the stern reply of the thousands who crowded the Meeting-house and filled the street between, leaving but scanty room to pass, "Both regiments or none!" — the patriot tells us he "saw the Governor's knees tremble, and his face grow pale," and he "enjoyed the sight."

On the eighteenth of November, 1773, the British Tea-ships were nearing the harbor, and another Town-meeting had assembled. The committee who had been appointed to request the consignees to resign their commissions reported their refusal; whereupon, says Fiske, "the meeting instantly dissolved itself without a word of comment or debate, and at the ominous silence the consignees and the Governor were filled with a vague sense of alarm, as if some storm were brewing whereof none could see the result."* One result made itself manifest on the night of the sixteenth of December following, when the Old South and the adjacent streets were thronged with more than seven thousand people, and fifty "Mohawks" raised the war-whoop on their way to Griffin's wharf to discover the reply to John Rowe's question, "Who knows how tea will mingle with salt water?"

After deliberate acts like these it needed no prophet to discern the advancing shadows of coming events, and both parties began to prepare for the future. By virtue

* "The American Revolution," I: p. 84.

of his office Lord North was the adviser of King George III, but that stubborn monarch, confident in his army and his abundant resources, was really his own Prime Minister. In April, 1774, General Gage displaced Hutchinson, the king believing that with four regiments behind him and the oppressive Port Bill, Boston would submit, and as Lord Mansfield said, "Victory would be won without carnage." But as the weeks went on, Gage's inability to carry out the plans of the British Ministry became more and more evident, and Hume did not hesitate to call him "a luke-warm coward."

The winter of 1774-75 found Gage and his regiments virtually cooped up in the town of Boston. As early as the 5th of the preceding September he had judged it expedient to fortify the "Neck," thus closing the only entrance by land. His troops became impatient at their confinement, and the General felt that he must soon adopt a more active policy to satisfy them and to meet the expectations of the Ministry. That the Province was making military preparations, that the "minute-men" were actively drilling on every village Common, and that abundant munitions of war had been gathered at Concord, Worcester and other towns, he well knew from numerous reports of sympathizers with the Crown in Suffolk, Middlesex and Worcester Counties. In February the Provincial Congress had ordered that supplies sufficient for 15,000 men should be collected and stored at Concord and Worcester — chiefly in the

former town. On the 13th of February the Joint Committees of Safety and Supplies requested Col. Robins to send 15,000 canteens, four brass field pieces and two mortars to Concord, and on the 21st ten tons of lead, and a large supply of balls and cartridges were ordered. All through that and the early part of the following month, tents, provisions, tools, medicines, including twenty hogsheads of rum, as many of molasses, and other necessities for a vigorous campaign, were coming into that town in wagon-loads.*

Concord was a centre of strong patriotic influence, and the fact that it was the principal point for the assemblage of supplies was by this time no doubt as well known to the Royal Governor as to the Provincial authorities themselves. An armed resistance to the King's troops was evidently a part of their plans, and to forestall these designs it became necessary that the British commander should obtain full and accurate information about the roads and strategic points to the westward of Boston. He therefore issued an order addressed to two of his officers, — Captain Brown of the 52d Regiment, and Ensign D'Berniere† of the 10th Regiment, — under date of February 22, 1775, directing them to go over the roads between Boston and Worcester, observing the topography of the country, noting what provisions and other necessities the several

* See Shattuck's History, pp. 94-99, for a more detailed account.

† See note at close of this paper.

townships could supply, and report the results of their investigations. When the British evacuated Boston on March 17, 1776, Gage's order and the "Narrative" of the spies, with other documents, were left behind, and fell into the hands of the Provincials; these were printed a few years later,* and with some explanatory notes will form the body of this paper.

Before proceeding it may be proper to say that the story of the expedition of these spies has had a peculiar charm for me, as I am familiar with nearly every mile they journeyed, the inns and houses at which they tarried, and with many of the descendants of the men they mention as having met,—for my ancestors, both paternal and maternal, were Middlesex born and bred for eight generations, and some of them were soldiers in the Revolutionary army from the beginning to the end of the war. Aside from the "Narrative" I have freely availed myself of Sabine's "Loyalists," Shattuck, Hudson, and other authorities, town records, and various town histories.

The expedition of these officers and its object did not escape the knowledge of the patriots, and when Captain

* The original—a pamphlet of twenty pages—is extremely rare; I know of but a single copy in existence to-day, which brought \$53 at one of Libby's sales in December, 1910. Besides the "Narrative" it contains an account, from a British point of view, of the Battle of Lexington; but as this is not pertinent to the immediate subject of this paper, it will not be given here; it may be found in full, together with a reprint of the "Narrative," in Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc., 2d Series, IV: pp. 205 *et seq.* (1816.)

Brown and his companion were sent on March 20 to Concord on a similar errand, they were regarded as suspicious characters, and a woman who had directed them to the house of a Loyalist was threatened with a coat of tar and feathers. Their visit was recognized as proof that that town would probably be the first point of attack, and when a report came a few days later (March 29) that the British were about to occupy it, the Provincial Committee of Safety met at Cambridge and ordered the immediate removal of stores, and these were accordingly scattered in various directions. Shattuck tells us that 50 barrels of beef, 100 of flour, 20 casks of rice, 15 hogsheads of molasses, 10 of rum, 500 candles, 15,000 iron pots, and the 15,000 canteens were sent to Sudbury; the spades, picks, axes, and various other articles, were divided: one-third to be sent to Stow, one-third to Sudbury, and one-third to remain in Concord, and 1,000 iron pots were to be sent to Worcester. It was with the intention of finding and destroying these stores that the "grenadiers and light infantry of the army of Boston" were sent under command of Colonel Smith on their march of the "ever memorable 19th of April." Ensign D'Berniere accompanied his regiment (the 10th) on the expedition, and when Captain Parsons of that regiment was dispatched to secure Concord Bridge, D'Berniere was "ordered to shew him the road there," and also conducted him to a house where the iron cannon and

some of the stores were hidden, as mentioned in the Narrative.

The title-page of the pamphlet is somewhat diffuse, but will be interesting as it mentions each of the several documents printed, and I give it in full : —

GENERAL GAGE'S INSTRUCTIONS, OF 22d FEBRUARY, 1775,

To Captain Brown and Ensign D'Bernicre, (of the army under his command) whom he ordered to take a sketch of the roads, passes, heights, &c. from Boston to Worcester, and to make other observations: With a curious Narrative of Occurrences during their mission, wrote by the Ensign. Together with an Account of their doings, in consequence of further Orders and Instructions from General Gage, of the 20th March following, to proceed to Concord, to reconnoitre and find out the state of the provincial magazines; what number of cannon, &c. they have, and in what condition.

Also, an Account of the Transactions of the British troops, from the time they marched out of Boston, on the evening of the 18th, til their confused retreat back, on the ever memorable nineteenth of April, 1775; and a return of their killed, wounded and missing on that auspicious day, as made to Gen. Gage.

[Left in town by a British officer previous to the evacuation of it by the enemy, and now printed for the information and amusement of the curious.]

Boston: Printed, and to be sold, by J. Gill in Court Street.
1779.

The first of these documents printed in the pamphlet is General Gage's Order, which reads as follows :—

BOSTON, *February 22, 1775.*

Gentlemen,

YOU will go through the counties of Suffolk and Worcester, taking a sketch of the country as you pass ; it is not expected you should make out regular plans and surveys, but mark out the roads and distances from town to town, as also the situation and nature of the country ; all passes must be particularly laid down, noticing the length and breadth of them, the entrance in and going out of them, and whether to be avoided by taking other routes.

The rivers also to be sketched out, remarking their breadth and depth and the nature of their banks on both sides, the fords, if any, and the nature of their bottoms, many of which particulars may be learned of the country people.*

You will remark the heights you meet with, whether the ascents are difficult or easy ; as also the woods and mountains, with the height and nature of the latter, whether to be got round or easily past over.

* Even at that late day General Gage had but a faint idea of the deep popular resentment because of his rigid enforcement of the Boston Port Bill, the distress which followed that, and the repeated violations by the British Crown of the chartered rights of the Colonies. The spies learned few "particulars . . . of the country people," who suspected their errand from the first.

The nature of the country to be particularly noticed, whether inclosed or open; if the former, what kind of inclosures, and whether the country admits of making roads for troops on the right or left of the main road, or on the sides.

You will notice the situation of the towns and villages, their churches and church-yards, whether they are advantageous spots to take post in, and capable of being made defencible.

If any places strike you as proper for encampments, or appear strong by nature, you will remark them particularly, and give reasons for your opinions.

It would be useful if you could inform yourselves of the necessaries their different counties could supply, such as provisions, forage, straw, &c., the number of cattle, horses, &c. in the several townships.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS GAGE.

To Capt. BROWN, 52d regiment,
and Ensign D'BERNIERE 10th
regiment.

(Copy.)

The next Document was the "Narrative," so-called, which seems to have been D'Berniere's Journal, rather than a formal Report to General Gage.

NARRATIVE, &c.

THE latter end of February, 1775, Capt. Brown and myself received orders to go through the counties of Suffolk and Worcester, and sketch the roads as we went, for the information of Gen. Gage, as he expected to have occasion to march troops through that country the ensuing Spring.

We sat out from Boston on Thursday, disguised like countrymen, in brown cloaths and reddish handkerchiefs round our necks ; at the ferry of Charlestown, we met a sentry of the 52d regiment,* but Capt. Brown's servant, whom we took along with us, bid him not take any notice of us, so that we passed unknown to Charlestown. From that we went to Cambridge, a pretty town, with a college built of brick, the ground is entirely level on which the town stands. We next went to Watertown, and were not suspected. It is a pretty large town for America, but would be looked upon as a village in England ; a little out of this town we went into a tavern, a Mr. Brewer's, a whig, we called for dinner, which was brought in by a black woman, at first she was very civil, but afterwards began to eye us very attentively ; she then went out and a little after returned, when we observed to her that it was a very fine

* This sentry, it will be noticed, belonged to Capt. Brown's regiment.

country, upon which she answered so it is, and we have got brave fellows to defend it, and if you go up any higher you will find it so. —

[The landlord was Jonathan Brewer, a native of Framingham. In 1770 he bought of Thomas Wellington, Jr., a farm on the line between Waltham and Watertown (the house being in Waltham), where he kept a tavern. He died in 1784. He was distinguished in the French and Indian and Revolutionary Wars, was in command of a company of Rangers in the expedition under Gen. Wolfe against Quebec in 1759, and was Colonel of a regiment at Bunker Hill. I opine that his tavern was a bad stopping-place for British spies.]

This disconcerted us a good deal, and we imagined she knew us from our papers which we took out before her, as the general had told us to pass for surveyors; however we resolved not to sleep there that night, as we had intended, accordingly we paid our bill which amounted to two pounds odd shillings, but it was old tenor. After we had left the house we enquired of John, our servant, what she had said, he told us that she knew Capt. Brown very well, that she had seen him five years before at Boston, and knew him to be an officer, and that she was sure I was one also, and told John that he was a regular — he denied it; but she said she knew our errand was to take a plan of the country; that she had seen the river and road through Charlestown on the paper; she also advised him to tell us not

to go any higher, for if we did we should meet with very bad usage: Upon this we called a council, and agreed that if we went back we should appear very foolish, as we had a great number of enemies in town, because the General had chose to employ us in preference to them; it was absolutely necessary to push on to Worcester, and run all risk rather than go back until we were forced. —

Accordingly we continued our rout and went about six miles further; we met a country fellow driving a team, and a fellow with him whom we suspected to be a deserter; they both seemed very desirous to join company with us and told us, upon our saying we were going towards Worcester, that they were going our way: As we began to suspect something we stopped at a tavern at the sign of the golden-ball, with an intention to get a drink and so proceed; but upon our going in the landlord pleased us so much, as he was not inquisitive, that we resolved to lye there that night; so we ordered some fire to be made in the room we were in, and a little after to get us some coffee; he told us we might have what we pleased, either tea or coffee. We immediately found out with whom we were, and were not a little pleased to find, on some conversation, that he was a friend to government; he told us that he had been very ill-used by them* some time before; but that since he had shewed them that he was not to be

* That is, by the opponents of the Royalists.

bullied, they had left him pretty quiet.—We then asked him for the inns that were on the road between his house and Worcester, he recommended us to two, one at about nine miles from his house, a Mr. Buckminster's and another at Worcester, a namesake of his own, a Mr. Jones.

[The "Golden Ball" was in Weston, and was kept by Isaac Jones, a notorious Tory. He was a son of Col. Elisha Jones of Weston, who died in 1775, aged 66 years. The Colonel was the father of fourteen sons and one daughter; five of the sons were Tories. Mr. Buckminster's tavern was in Framingham, about a quarter of a mile east of the present Centre Village and on the old turnpike from Boston to Worcester. He kept it from 1735 to 1786.]

The second day was very rainy and a kind of frost, with it however we resolved to set off, and accordingly we proceeded to Mr. Buckminster's; we met nothing extraordinary on the road; we passed some time in sketching a pass that lay on our road, and of consequence were very dirty and wet on our arrival: On our entering the house we did not much like the appearance of things; we asked for dinner and they gave us some sausages, we praised every thing exceedingly, which pleased the old woman of the house much; when we told them we intended staying the night, they gave us a room to ourselves, which was what we wanted; after being there sometime we found we were pretty

safe, as by that time we perceived that the coate de pay's* was not a dangerous one; of consequence we felt very happy, and Brown, I, and our man John, made a very hearty supper; for we always treated him as our companion, since our adventure with the black woman. We slept there that night, and the next morning, being a very fine one, we resolved to push on for Worcester, which was about thirty miles from us; we proceeded about nine miles without any thing extraordinary happening, except meeting two men whom we suspected to be deserters. We then dined in the woods on a tongue and some cherry brandy we brought with us, and changed our stockings, which refreshed us much, our feet being very wet.

We then travelled through a very fine country, missed our way and went to Southborough; we were obliged to turn back a mile to get the right road. We then passed through Shrewsbury; all a fine open cultivated country. We came into a pass about four miles from Worcester, where we were obliged to stop to sketch. We arrived at Worcester at five o'clock in the evening, very much fatigued; the people in the town did not take notice of us as we came in, so that we got safe to Mr. Jones's tavern.

[This was Isaac Jones, a relative of the landlord of the Golden Ball in Weston, mentioned above. He was an inn-

* For *côte de pays*, situation. Doubtless a typographic error in the original pamphlet.

holder and trader, and his tavern was a few rods south of the Old South Church. He died in 1813, at the age of 85. In January, 1775, the Whig Convention of Worcester County had denounced him in the following terms:—

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to all the inhabitants of this County, not to have any commercial connections with Isaac Jones, but to shun his house and person, and to treat him with the contempt he deserves:—and should any persons in this County be so lost to a sense of their duty, after this recommendation, as to have any commercial connections with the said Tory, we do advise the inhabitants of this County to treat such persons with the utmost neglect.]

On our entrance he seemed a little sour, but it wore off by degrees and we found him to be our friend, which made us very happy; we dined and supped without any thing happening out of the common run. The next day being Sunday, we could not think of travelling, as it was contrary to the custom of the country; nor dare we stir out until the evening because of meeting, and no body is allowed to walk the streets during divine service, without being taken up and examined; so that thinking we could not stand the examination so well, we thought it prudent to stay at home, where we wrote and corrected our sketches. The landlord was very attentive to us, and on our asking what he could give us for breakfast, he told us tea or any thing else we chose—that was an open confession what he was; but for fear he might be imprudent, we did not tell him who we

were, tho' we were certain he knew it. In the evening we went round the town and on all the hills that command it, sketched every thing we desired, and returned to the town without being seen.

[When Boston was evacuated by the British, in March, 1776, plans were found for building a fortress on Chandler's Hill, Worcester, together with those for an extensive encampment, which were doubtless drawn by Ensign D'Berniere.]

That evening about eight o'clock the landlord came in and told us there were two gentlemen who wanted to speak with us ; we asked him who they were ? on which he said we wou'd be safe in their company ; we said we did not doubt that, as we hoped that two gentlemen who travelled merely to see the country and stretch our limbs, as we had lately come from sea, could not meet with anything else but civility, when we behaved ourselves properly ; he told us he would come in again in a little time, and perhaps we would change our minds, and then left us :—an hour after he returned, and told us the gentlemen were gone, but had begged him to let us know, as they knew us to be officers of the army, that all their friends of government at Petersham were disarmed by the rebels, and that they threatened to do the same at Worcester in a very little time ; he sat and talked politicks, and drank a bottle of wine with us—and also told us that none but a few friends to government knew we were in town ; we said it was very in-

different to us whether they did or not, tho' we thought very differently ; however, as we imagined we had staid long enough in that town, we resolved to set off at day-break the next morning and get to Framingham ; accordingly off we set, after getting some roast beef and brandy from our landlord, which was very necessary on a long march, and prevented us going into houses where perhaps they might be too inquisitive ; we took a road we had not come, and that led us to the pass four miles from Worcester ; we went on unobserved by any one until we passed Shrewsbury, where we were overtaken by a horseman who examined us very attentively, and especially me, whom he looked at from head to foot as if he wanted to know me again ; after he had taken his observations he rode off pretty hard and took the Marlborough road, but by good luck we took the Framingham road again to be more perfect in it, as we thought it would be the one made use of.

[This man on horseback was Captain Timothy Bigelow, a blacksmith of Worcester, sent by the Committee of Correspondence of that town to observe these strangers, whose martial bearing, notwithstanding their caution, betrayed them. Bigelow communicated their probable visit to the people of Marlborough, where they were expected that night. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774-75, and Captain of the Minute-men. He was in Arnold's expedition to Quebec, where he was taken prisoner ; he was a commander of Continental troops, and served

throughout the Revolutionary war. Hon. Alfred S. Roe, writing of Col. Bigelow in the "New England Magazine" for January, 1901, says:—"On hearing of the march of the British to Lexington and Concord, on the 19th of April, 1775, he marched with his company of Minute-men to the scenes whence swept that 'next breeze from the North,' foretold by Patrick Henry: Capt. Benjamin Flagg followed with his company; in all 110 men left Worcester on that day." On April 19, 1861, when the Middlesex soldiers were marching through Baltimore, a marble monument was dedicated in Worcester to the memory of Captain Bigelow, on which appears the following inscription:—"Col. Timothy Bigelow, Born Aug. 12, 1739. Died Mar. 31, 1790; 15th Regt. Mass. Continentals—Quebec—Monmouth—Saratoga—Verplank's Point—Valley Forge—Yorktown." It stands on the old Common, in the rear of the new City Hall.]

We arrived at Buckminster's tavern about six o'clock that evening, the company of militia were exercising near the house, and an hour after they came and performed their feats before the windows of the room we were in; we did not feel very easy at seeing such a number so very near us; however, they did not know who we were, and took little or no notice of us.—After they had done their exercise, one of their commanders spoke a very eloquent speech, recommending patience, coolness and bravery, (which indeed they much wanted) particularly told them they would always conquer if they did not break, and recommended them to charge us

cooly, and wait for our fire, and every thing would succeed with them — quotes Cæsar and Pompey, brigadiers Putnam and Ward,* and all such great men ; put them in mind of Cape Breton, and all the battles they had gained for his majesty in the last war, and observed that the regulars must have been ruined but for them. — After so learned and spirited an harangue, he dismissed the parade, and the whole company came into the house and drank until nine o'clock, and then returned to their respective homes full of pot-valor. We slept there that night and no-body in the house suspected us.

[This tavern was another rather risky place for the British spies. It was kept for years by Colonel Joseph Buckminster, Jr., born 1697, died 1780, who had frequently been a member of the Colonial legislature, Colonel of the Framingham militia, and held responsible positions in the French and Indian war and at the opening of the Revolution, when he was Lieutenant-colonel of Jonathan Brewer's regiment, and was dangerously wounded at Bunker Hill. The militia company mentioned by D'Berniere was either that of Capt. Simon Edgell, 70 men (in which my great-grandfather, William Maynard, was a sergeant), Capt. Micajah Gleason, 60 men, or Capt. Jesse Eames, 24 men. They were enlisted under the authority of an Act passed by the Provincial Congress Oct. 25, 1774, and were organized Dec. 2, of that year. Each man was required to provide himself with a musket,

* Gen. Israel Putnam and Gen. Artemas Ward ; the latter was the commander of the Provincial troops besieging Boston until the arrival of Gen. Washington.

bayonet, cartridge-box, and thirty-six rounds of ammunition. They met for drill as often as once a week. They all responded to the Lexington alarm, and reached Concord about noon, too late for the fight there, but soon enough for the Merriam's corner assault, and the attack in the Lincoln woods. They joined in the pursuit until the British reached Cambridge. The service of these men was from four to twenty-eight days. Out of a total population of 1500, Framingham sent 153 of her sons into the Lexington fight, from which it would appear that the criticism of D'Berniere on the "pot-valour" of the men he watched while drilling was not justified by the event.]

Next morning we set off for Weston, had a very agreeable day, having fine weather and a beautiful country to travel through; we met nothing extraordinary on the road; no-body knew us, and we were asked very few questions: On our arrival at Mr. Jones's, we met with a very welcome reception, he being our friend; we received several hints from the family not to attempt to go any more into the country; but as we had succeeded so well heretofore, we were resolved to go the Sudbury road, (which was the main road that led to Worcester) and go as far as the thirty-seven mile-stone, where we had left the main road and taken the Framingham road. We slept at Jones's that night, and got all our sketches together and sent them to Boston with our man, so that if they did stop and search us, they would not get our papers.

The next day was very cloudy and threatened bad weather, towards twelve o'clock it snowed; we dined soon in hopes the weather would clear up. — At two o'clock it ceased snowing a little, and we resolved to set off for Marlborough, which was about sixteen miles off; we found the roads very bad, every step up to our ankles; we passed through Sudbury, a very large village, near a mile long, the causeway lies across a great swamp, or overflowing of the river Sudbury, and commanded by a high ground on the opposite side; nobody took the least notice of us until we arrived within three miles of Marlborough, (it was snowing hard all the while) when a horseman overtook us and asked us from whence we came, we said from Weston, he asked if we lived there, we said no; he then asked where we resided, and as we found there was no evading his questions, we told him we lived at Boston; he then asked us where we were going, we told him to Marlborough, to see a friend, (as we intended to go to Mr. Barnes's, a gentleman to whom we were recommended, and a friend to government;) he then asked if we were in the army, we said not, but were a good deal alarmed at his asking us that question; he asked several rather impertinent questions, and then rode on for Marlborough, as we suppose, to give them intelligence there of our coming, — for on our entering the town, the people came out of their houses (tho' it snowed and blew very hard) to look at us, in particular a baker asked Capt. Brown where

are you going master, he answered on to see Mr. Barnes. —

We proceeded to Mr. Barnes's, and on our beginning to make an apology for taking the liberty to make use of his house and discovering to him that we were officers in disguise, he told us we need not be at the pains of telling him, that he knew our situation, that we were very well known (he was afraid) by the town's people. — We begged he would recommend some tavern where we should be safe, he told us we could be safe no where but in his house; that the town was very violent, and that we had been expected at Col. Williams's the night before, where there had gone a party of liberty people to meet us, — (we suspected, and indeed had every reason to believe, that the horseman that met us and took such particular notice of me, the morning we left Worcester, was the man who told them we should be at Marlborough the night before, but our taking the Framingham road when he had passed us, deceived him;) — Whilst we were talking, the people were gathering in little groups in every part of the town. — Mr. Barnes asked us who had spoke to us on our coming into the town, we told him a baker; he seemed a little startled at that, told us he was a very mischievous fellow, and that there was a deserter at his house; Capt. Brown asked the man's name, he said it was Swain, that he had been a drummer; Brown knew him too well, as he was a man of his own company, and had not been

gone above a month — so we found we were discovered. — We asked Mr. Barnes if they did get us into their hands, what they would do with us ; he did not seem to like to answer ; we asked him again, he then said we knew the people very well, that we might expect the worst of treatment from them. —

Immediately after this, Mr. Barnes was called out ; he returned a little after and told us the doctor of the town had come to tell him he was come to sup with him — (now this fellow had not been within Mr. Barnes's doors for two years before, and came now for no other business than to see and betray us) — Barnes told him he had company and could not have the pleasure of attending him that night ; upon this the fellow stared about the house and asked one of Mr. Barnes's children who her father had got with him, the child innocently answered that she had asked her pappa, but he told her it was not her business ; he then went, I suppose to tell the rest of his crew. —

[This Doctor was Samuel Curtis. When Dr. Dexter died, in 1769, his widow took Dr. Curtis into her family as a physician, to succeed to her late husband's practice, and they were married in 1771. Dr. Curtis was a man of influence in the town, holding the offices of Selectman, Town-clerk, etc. ; he was a justice of the peace, and a member of the Committee of Correspondence. He came to Marlborough from Roxbury.]

When we found we were in that situation, we resolved to lie down for two or three hours, and set off at twelve o'clock at night ; so we got some supper on the table and were just beginning to eat, when Barnes (who had been making enquiry of his servants) found they intended to attack us, and then he told us plainly he was very uneasy for us, that we could be no longer in safety in that town ; upon which we resolved to set off immediately, and asked Mr. Barnes if there was no road round the town, so that we might not be seen ; he took us out of his house by the stables, and directed us a bye road which was to lead us a quarter of a mile from the town, it snowed and blew as much as ever I see it in my life ; however, we walked pretty fast, fearing we should be pursued ; at first we felt much fatigued, having not been more than twenty minutes at Mr. Barnes's to refresh ourselves, and the roads (if possible) were worse than when we came ; but in a little time after it wore off, and we got without being perceived, as far as the hills that command the causeway at Sudbury, and went into a little wood where we eat a bit of bread that we took from Mr. Barnes's and eat a little snow to wash it down.

[Henry Barnes, the Loyalist, went from Boston to Marlborough in 1753. He was in no wise connected with the several families of the name in the latter town, who were all staunch patriots. As early as 1770 he was condemned by the towns-people as an importer who brought goods into the

country contrary to the agreement of the patriotic merchants of Boston and its vicinity. He was a man of some note, a favorite of the Royal Governor, who in 1766 appointed him one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex. He is styled an "Importer" in the Marlborough Resolutions. He kept a store there, and appears to have been a man of wealth and enterprise. In 1753 he presented a petition to Governor Shirley, in which he sets forth that he has lately been at considerable expense and trouble in erecting in Marlborough a commodious house, works, and utensils for the distilling and manufacturing of cider spirits, and the same has answered his expectations, so that besides what has been consumed in the Province, he has distilled the same spirit and sent to Boston for exportation between two and three thousand gallons, and the same is esteemed by proper judges to be as good and wholesome as any spirit now used; and he prays that he may be licensed to retail it in small quantities. Whereupon the Court of Sessions and the Selectmen of the town were empowered to grant him such a license.

He resided in the east village, in the house known as the Cogswell house, which he built in 1763. This house is still standing and is in a good state of preservation. He was one of the largest tax-payers, and was the owner of several slaves, one of whom, "Daphne," was supported out of his estate after he had left Marlborough (which was not very long after the brief visit of the spies) to espouse the Royal cause. He took refuge in Boston, under the protection of the King's troops, and at the outbreak of the Revolution was a bitter Tory. An Act was passed in 1778 by which

all persons who had left the State and gone over to the enemy were forbidden to return to their former homes, and it also provided that should any such return they were to be arrested and sent out of the dominion of the United States; and in case they should again return without the leave of the General Court after such transportation, they should suffer the pains of death without benefit of clergy. In this Act Henry Barnes is expressly mentioned. His property was confiscated; he was in England with his family in 1777, and died in London in 1808, at the age of 84.] *

After that we proceeded about one hundred yards, when a man came out of a house and said those words to Capt. Brown, "What do you think will become of you now," which startled us a good deal, thinking we were betrayed.— We resolved to push on at all hazards, but expected to be attacked on the causeway; however we met nobody there, so began to think it was resolved to stop us in Sudbury, which town we entered when we passed the causeway; about a quarter of a mile in the town we met three or four horsemen, from whom we expected a few shot, when we came nigh they opened to the right and left and quite crossed the road, however they let us pass through them without taking any notice, their opening being only chance; but our apprehensions made us interpret every thing against us.— At last we arrived at our friend Jones's again, very much fatigued,

* See Sabine's "Loyalists," and Hudson's "History of Marlborough."

after walking thirty-two miles between two o'clock and half-after ten at night, through a road that every step we sunk up to the ankles, and it blowing and drifting snow all the way. — Jones said he was glad to see us back, as he was sure we should meet with ill-usage in that part of the country, as they had been watching for us sometime; but said he found we were so deaf to his hints, that he did not like to say any thing for fear we should have taken it ill; we drank a bottle of mulled Madeira wine, which refreshed us very much, and went to bed and slept as sound as men could do, that were very much fatigued.

The next morning, after breakfast, we set off for Boston. Jones shewed us a road that took us a quarter of a mile below Watertown bridge, as we did not choose to go through that town. We arrived at Boston about twelve o'clock, and met General Gage and General Haldiman,* with their aid-de-camps, walking out on the neck, they did not know us until we discovered ourselves; we besides met several officers of our acquaintance who did not know us.

A few days after our return, Mr. Barnes came to town from Marlborough, and told us, immediately on our quitting the town, the committee of correspondence came to his house and demanded us; he told them we

* This is the General interviewed by the boys of the Public Latin School, who complained that his soldiers had spoiled their coast; the story is often, but erroneously, attributed to Gen. Gage.

were gone ; they then searched his house from top to bottom, looked under the beds and in their cellars, and when they found we were gone, they told him if they had caught us in his house, they would have pulled it about his ears. — They then sent horsemen after us, every road ; but as we had the start of them, and the weather being so very bad, they either did not overtake us, or missed us. Mr. Barnes told them we were not officers, but relations of his wife's, from Penobscot, and were going to Lancaster ; that, perhaps, might have deceived them.

This completes the story of the perilous adventures of the spies, but General Gage seems to have felt it necessary to know more about the military stores accumulated at Concord, — their previous expedition having taken them south of that town, — and two or three weeks after the return of Captain Brown and his companion, he despatched them thither on a similar errand. From the account of their experiences there, and later on the nineteenth of April, which is the next document in the pamphlet, it would seem that they were successful in locating some of the hiding-places of the supplies which had been sent there.

Account of the proceedings of the aforesaid officers, in consequence of further orders and instructions from General Gage, of the 20th March following: with occurrences during their mission.

THE twentieth of March Captain Brown and myself received orders to set out for Concord, and examine the road and situation of the town; and also to get what information we could relative to what quantity of artillery and provisions. We went through Roxbury and Brookline, and came to the main road between the thirteen and fourteen mile-stones, in the township of Weston; we went through part of the pass at the eleven mile-stone, took the Concord road, which is seven miles from the main road. We arrived there without any kind of insult being offered to us; the road is high to the right and low to the left, woody in most places, and very close and commanded by hills frequently. The town of Concord lies between hills that command it entirely; there is a river runs through it, with two bridges over it; in summer it is pretty dry; the town is large and covers a great tract of ground, but the houses are not close together but generally in little groups. We were informed that they had fourteen pieces of cannon (ten iron and four brass) and two

cohorns;* they were mounted but in so bad a manner that they could not elevate them more than they were, that is, they were fixed to one elevation; their iron cannon they kept in a house in town, their brass they had concealed in some place behind the town, in a wood. They had also a store of flour, fish, salt and rice; and a magazine of powder and cartridges. They fired their morning gun, and mounted a guard of ten men at night. We dined at the house of a Mr. Bliss, a friend to government; they had sent him word they would not let him go out of town alive that morning; however, we told him if he would come with us we would take care of him, as we were three and all well armed,—he consented and told us he could shew us another road, called the Lexington road.

[From Sabine's "Loyalists" we learn that this was Daniel Bliss, a son of the Rev. Samuel Bliss of Concord, and he was probably the source of the information gained by the spies in that town. He was born in 1740; graduated at Harvard in 1760, and died at Lincoln, near Fredericton, in

* Doubtless these four brass cannon and the two cohorns or mortars were those ordered to be sent to Concord by the Joint Committee of Safety and Supplies on the thirteenth of the previous month, as mentioned on p. 66 *supra*. From his minute description of their condition, and the fact already mentioned that he was able to conduct Captain Parsons to the house where they were concealed, we might almost be justified in supposing that D'Berniere personally saw them. However that may be, the success of the spies in obtaining these particulars and getting safely away without discovery, shows that the king had still some loyal supporters even in Concord.

the Province of New Brunswick, in 1806. He was one of the attorneys and barristers who were Addressors of Governor Hutchinson in 1774, and was proscribed under the Act of 1778. He joined the British army and was appointed Commissary. After the Revolution he settled in New Brunswick, where he became a member of the Council, and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His widow died in 1807, at the age of sixty. D'Berniere gives no clue to the identity of the third member of their party, but very likely it was the servant of Capt. Brown, who accompanied them on their previous expedition.]

We set out and crossed the bridge in the town, and of consequence left the town on the contrary side of the river to what we entered it. The road continued very open and good for six miles, the next five a little inclosed, (there is one very bad place in these five miles) the road good to Lexington. You then come to Menotomy, the road still good; a pond or lake at Menotomy. You then leave Cambridge on your right, and fall into the main road a little below Cambridge, and so to Charlestown; the road is very good almost all the way.

In the town of Concord, a woman directed us to Mr. Bliss's house; a little after she came in crying, and told us they swore if she did not leave the town, they would tar and feather her for directing Tories in their road.

The remaining portion of the original pamphlet from which I have quoted is devoted to an interesting account of the destruction of the Provincial stores at Concord by the British troops, after their march thither (as mentioned above), and their subsequent retreat to Charlestown, where they arrived about seven o'clock in the evening, hotly pursued by the patriots to the very end of the day.

The Tories were never in the ascendancy in Massachusetts; Boston and its immediate vicinity had the large majority of the "friends of government." After Lexington and Bunker Hill the country towns had but little trouble with them, and when on the ever memorable seventeenth of March, 1776, the forces of George III, with nine hundred sympathizers, celebrated St. Patrick's day by evacuating the rebellious town to embark for Halifax, the control of Great Britain over Massachusetts departed forever.

NOTES.

SOME biographical notes on the persons mentioned in the preceding "Narrative," in addition to those already given, may be of interest. General Sir Thomas Gage, the last of the Royal Governors of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, by whose order the spies made their reconnaissance, was born in 1721; he was the second son of the first Viscount Gage, and one of his own sons inherited the title. While serving under Lord Amherst, shortly after Braddock's defeat, he married Margaret, daughter of the Hon. Peter Kemble, President of the Council of New Jersey. He died in England in April, 1787.* The portrait herewith is from an original given to General W. H. Sumner (who married a niece of General Gage) by Admiral Sir William Hall Gage, a son of the General, who considered it an excellent likeness of his father. This portrait was bequeathed to the Commonwealth by General Sumner, and now hangs in the State House. The autograph is a photographic copy of an original in the collections of the Bostonian Society.

At the age of twenty-four, General Gage was an officer in the "Guards," and served as an aide to the Duke of Cumberland in the battle of Fontenoy, 1745, and again in the same capacity at

* This is the date given by General Sumner, and agrees with Allen, Appleton, Lossing and other authorities, though Drake in his "History of Boston," p. 750, has April 2, 1788. See Sumner's "History of East Boston," p. 366.

Culloden in 1746. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel under General Braddock in 1755, and severely wounded in the ill-fated expedition of that unfortunate officer, during which he made the acquaintance of Washington, who, twenty years after, was to drive him out of Boston. Later he was ordered to Canada, where by his capture of Montreal and the completion of the conquest, he brought matters to such a successful conclusion that he was made a Major-General and Governor of Upper Canada. In 1763 the King appointed him Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, having his head-quarters in New York until 1772. His services there were so satisfactory that he was again promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and when the troubles in Massachusetts became more and more threatening, he was regarded as the best qualified to hold the office of Governor of that Province and Captain-General, in addition to his other arduous duties.

He had already made a favorable impression on the people of Boston. When, in October, 1768, Colonel Dalrymple and Governor Bernard applied to the town authorities for quarters for the two regiments of royal troops just landed, the officials sturdily denied the right of the King to require that service without their consent while there was room at Castle William, and refused the request. General Gage came on from New York to investigate the matter, and when he read the Act of Parliament on which Samuel Adams and the citizens relied, as justifying their refusal, he promptly declined to enforce the demand. His tactful course, and especially his order for the return of the two regiments to Halifax as needless, disarmed, for the time at least, his opponents.

When he arrived in Boston on May 13, 1774, to succeed Governor Hutchinson, there was not a British soldier in the town, though one small regiment and two companies of artillery were

in garrison at the Castle. His guard of honor, as he passed up King Street from Long Wharf to the Old State House, where he was proclaimed Governor, was the Independent company of Cadets, then under command of John Hancock as Lieutenant-Colonel (the Governor being *ex officio* honorary Colonel of the corps). He was then escorted to the Province House, and as he passed through the lines on entering, he observed, says General Sumner, "that the customary salute was not given. He sent for Colonel Hancock, and demanded an explanation of the omission. The Colonel's reply that it was through forgetfulness, and that no disrespect was intended, did not satisfy the Governor, who deprived him of his commission. . . . This broke up the company, and it remained disorganized until 1787, when through the influence of General Brooks . . . the Legislature reorganized it."*

The story of subsequent events, and the loss of the favorable regard in which he had been held, which followed so rapidly, need not be repeated here; but it should be said that the researches of modern historians, and the publication of contemporary letters and documents from the Dartmouth and Sackville Collections, printed for the first time in Colonel Fisher's elaborate discussion in the "Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association" (1907), have shed a more favorable light on the character and capacity of General Gage, and corroborate the truth of Lord Chatham's vigorous defence of his conduct, when on December 22, 1774, that eminent statesman introduced a Resolution in the House of Lords, directing the withdrawal of the British troops from Boston. Evidently the execution of the orders of his superior officers was often as repugnant to Gage as it was to the Provincials.

* Sumner's "History of East Boston," p. 365.

Major-General Sir Frederick Haldimand, who was walking with General Gage near the fortifications on the "Neck," where those officers met the spies returning from their first expedition, was Gage's second in command. In 1778 he succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as Governor and Commander-in-chief of Canada.

Of Ensign Henry De Berniere (whose name is erroneously spelled D'Bernicre throughout the original pamphlet, which has been carefully followed in spelling, punctuation, etc.), Colonel Fisher tells us "he was an exceptionally capable topographical engineer, judging from his reports to Gage . . . and by his map of the Bunker Hill battle, which is a master-piece of military topography. . . . This map, discovered and published in 1818, is by far the best map we have by a participant in the battle." It was under his guidance that the British landed at Lechmere's Point on the night of April 18, crossed the road to Charlestown, and proceeded along the western foot of Prospect Hill to the main road from Cambridge to Lexington, then called "Charlestown Lane," which was the route that De Berniere had taken when returning from his reconnaissance of March 20.



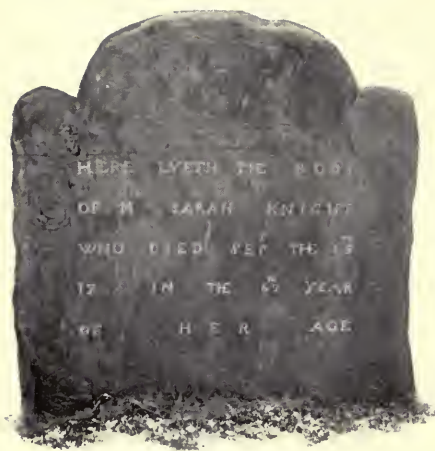
MADAM SARAH KNIGHT

HER DIARY AND HER TIMES

1666-1726

BY THE

REV. ANSON TITUS



GRAVESTONE OF MADAM KNIGHT,
NEW LONDON, CONN.



MADAM SARAH KNIGHT

HER DIARY AND HER TIMES, 1666-1726

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER,
OLD STATE HOUSE, OCTOBER 12, 1909, BY THE

REV. ANSON TITUS

MADAM SARAH KNIGHT has a character and history all her own,—unique, romantic, and in many ways reflecting the best elements in Puritan womanhood. She was born in Charlestown, Mass., April 18, 1666, the daughter of Thomas Kemble. She was a Puritan among Puritans. Her father was a merchant, interested in shipping and eminent among the business men of Charlestown and Boston. Before 1670 the family crossed Charles river and became residents of Boston's North End, where Thomas Kemble died about 1688, and his widow, Elizabeth, survived until 1712. The homestead was near North Square and the meeting-house of the Rev. Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather; it was pur-

chased of the estate of Captain Thomas Clarke, whose daughter was the wife of Elisha Hutchinson, Esquire. This building was burned in 1676, and all the valuables of this worthy family suffered destruction. The house was speedily rebuilt, however, and continued as the homestead until, in 1714, it became the residence of Captain Peter Papilion; in 1736 it was a part of the Hutchinson estate, and soon the home of the Rev. Samuel Mather, whose wife was of the Hutchinson family. It was standing until about 1833, when a warehouse was built on its site, now a part of the land of a Roman Catholic church and parochial school.

The mansions of early Boston's North End were the height of elegance, full of *bric-a-brac* from foreign cities; their gardens were spacious, and the fruits and flowers of every land contributed to the luxury of their owners. The community was one of wealth and culture; its families were of the superior quality, as judged by the inherited estimate; but the glory of those comfortable houses and their beautiful gardens has long since passed, and is only known to those who have an earnest longing for the Boston of the elder days.

When Sarah Kemble was a young woman she became the second wife of Captain Richard Knight. It was a May-and-November wedding. His first wife was Remember Grafton, a grand-daughter of Captain Isaac Allerton, of Mayflower fame. It is thought Captain Knight deceased about 1706.

Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the *Massachusetts*, or *Worcester Spy*, secured the remnants of papers of the Mather family and deposited them in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. He was intimately acquainted with the Rev. Samuel Mather and Dr. Benjamin Franklin in their later years, and overheard these aged men tell of their early school-days when waiting upon Madam Knight. She had kept school in the mansion at the North End, and these famous men remembered to their latest days their earliest teacher. Franklin, in his Autobiography, does not mention her as one of his instructors, but he was of that temper and character which would welcome the teachings of such a strong and observing woman. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the school-master George Brownell; but may it not also be true that in his beginning years he was touched by the spirit of Madam Knight, which had some share in making him a boy and man of observing habit?

Thomas recalls a rhyme found on a pane of glass in the old mansion, which Samuel Mather rehearsed, but whether written by the diamond ring of Madam Knight we know not:—

Through many toils and many frights
I have returned — poor Sarah Knight's;
Over great rocks and many stones
God has presar'ved from fracter'ed bones.

Mrs. Crocker, a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Mather, and a gifted writer of a century ago, has this record of Madam Knight : —

She was a very great lady in her day. . . . She obtained the honourable title of Madam by being a famous school-mistress. . . . She taught Dr. Franklin to write, and Rev. Samuel Mather, with many others. She was highly respected by Rev. Cotton Mather, as a woman of good wit and pleasant humour.

In a book she published in 1818, entitled, "Observations on the Rights of Women," the same author makes the following reference to Madam Knight : —

Among some of the earliest instructors of writing may be found Mrs. Sarah Knight, in the year 1706. She was famous in her day for teaching to write. Most of the letters on business and notes of hand and letters of friendship were written by her. She was a smart, witty and sensible woman, and had considerable influence at that period.

From this note, printed some years before the publication of the Diary, we may conclude that Madam Knight was not only a teacher of writing but of composition, and was employed as a copyist of the politer formulæ in society usage.

Robert Bronsden, Boston, was a prominent merchant. Madam Knight appears as a witness to deeds given and received by him ; and when he deceased, in 1702, we

learn that she not only witnessed his will, but assisted in settling the estate, and drew pay for her services. The same can be said of the settlement of the estate of Mrs. Bridget Phillips, a grand-daughter of the famous Ann Hutchinson, of Antinomian fame. In this case Madam Knight perhaps drafted the will, or at any rate copied it, and witnessed it.

That she was a copyist of legal documents for a series of years we have no doubt. The Suffolk County Registry of Deeds shows that she must have been intimately associated with the office at the Court House. She appears as a witness to a hundred or more deeds of the leading firms and families of Boston; she was evidently near at hand when these were drawn, and though it is difficult to say, or judge, we have no doubt that many of the volumes of deeds from 1695 onward to 1714, and especially about 1706-08, are in her handwriting. This would indicate that she was in the employ of the officials — notably of Captain John Prout, Register of the Court for this time. Not only does she appear as a witness among the deeds, but in the Probate Office of Suffolk County there is evidence of her skill as a scrivener, and of her business qualities.

In 1707, according to the Record Commissioners' Report,* Miscellaneous Papers, the following are given

* X: p. 121.

as the occupants of the mansion of Madam Knight in Boston : —

Mrs. Elizabeth Kemble ;
Sarah Knight and Shop ;
Mary Trowbridge ; Indian Boy ;
Nathaniel Corey ;
Ep^r More, at sea ;
R^d Richardson.

These are the mother (Mrs. Kemble) of Madam Knight ; her friend, Mary, widow of Caleb Trowbridge, and Nathaniel Corey, who married a niece of Richard Knight's first wife. The relationship of More and Richardson, if any, we have not learned.

To Madam Knight was born a daughter, Elizabeth, May 8, 1689. This daughter was truly a child of favor. She possessed all the good things of this world, and in her young womanhood contracted marriage with Colonel John Livingston, a Connecticut merchant and mariner, having large trade between England and New England, and whose first wife had been Mary Winthrop, daughter of Governor Fitz-John Winthrop. The wedding was solemnized October 1, 1713, by her minister, the aged and venerable Dr. Increase Mather. The home of Colonel Livingston was in New London, and thither the young bride journeyed, to be joined in a few months by her mother.

The marriage of Elizabeth Knight with Colonel Livingston changed the plans of her mother ; she sold the

Boston homestead to Captain Peter Papilion, and removed to New London, where she resided until her decease, September 25, 1726. There she at once entered upon a business career. Her home was near the Norwich line, and doubtless she had almost as much to do with Norwich as with New London. In the latter town she is styled a "shop-keeper," which means that she sold wares—probably from England, and for the service of women. She soon began the purchase of estates, and if full details were admissible, they would show she was a woman of foresight and business keenness. Her son-in-law, Colonel Livingston, had seen service in the "Queen Anne War," in which he gained his title. We suspect that he met business reverses, and it may be that Madam Knight came to his financial rescue. He died in London in 1720, without children by either wife. His widow deceased in New London, March 17, 1735/36, aged forty-eight years. To all the Kemble and Knight estates there were no immediate heirs, Madam Knight being the sole heir of the Kemble estate, and the property was divided among the distant kinsmen residing in Boston and vicinity.

The administratrix of the estate of Mrs. Livingston was her mother's cousin, Sarah, the wife of Captain Christopher Christophers of New London. Those who signed the receipt as heirs were Sarah Bass, the widow of Philip Bass; widow Mary Bassett; Wm. Weyer and Elinor, his wife, of Charlestown; Elizabeth, widow of

Samuel Burr, the old-time school-master of Concord and Charlestown; Robert Luist of Charlestown; James Fluker and wife, Elizabeth; and the Rev. Thomas Cheever and wife, Abigail. A study of these shows their kinship through the Nicholas Trerice family of Boston, whose daughters became the wives of Thomas Fenner and Thomas Kemble.

Unique as is the Diary of Madam Knight, which describes her journey, and interesting as it is — yet as printed it is only a fraction of the whole. Hon. Theodore Dwight, who had the document with him in 1824, and published the first edition in 1846, wrote to the Hon. Charles Deane of Boston that only one-tenth of the manuscript — that portion written in long-hand — was published. Nine-tenths of it was in short-hand — a stenography of the day, which a century ago could scarcely be read, but which if extant to-day, could be translated. Doubtless the nine-tenths went more into the details of the journey, and perhaps was a freer comment upon the people, and the localities through which she journeyed. The tradition is that the original manuscript was used by a maid in the employ of Mr. Dwight for the purpose of kindling the morning fire. Its loss — and it was a contemporary of the Diary of Judge Sewall — is indeed irreparable. It is by journals like these that we learn of the common life of the people.

Full well do we know that such personal notes, written in and for privacy, are not always the most reliable. They exaggerate the weaknesses and notions of the writers. They often display the prejudices and the small thinking of mighty minds. No man would ever suspect, from the self-told revelations of Judge Sewall, that he was the foremost man in the Colony; or that the diaries of Cotton Mather could have been used to the detriment of his great name and character.

The publication of the Diary aroused a great deal of discussion. Many people thought it a composition of Mr. Samuel L. Knapp, a brilliant and gifted writer of the day. From this time onward it was often commented upon. About 1848 Mr. Wilkins Updike gave an address at Stonington, Conn., upon the Diary, dwelling especially upon the localities and persons mentioned and noted in that State. About the same time it was printed in a magazine, as though it had never before been published. This aroused fresh interest, and in 1856 it appeared in the "Edinburgh Review;" again, in 1858, it was printed in "Littell's Living Age," with many notes by Mr. William R. Dean of Boston, which were most valuable. In 1866 Mr. Joel Munsell, an Albany publisher, printed an excellent edition, with notes based upon those of Mr. Dean, but with some additions by a learned Connecticut antiquary. It was presented in fine form, but even this, the best of the

various editions, shows haste and incompleteness of study.

In 1901 another edition was published in Norwich, Conn., which, though finely printed, suffered from a failure to use notes and material already known. Mr. Dean did not lose his interest in the publication, but gave much attention to gathering data from various archives of New England, which would add light to the affairs of the author and the people, incidents and localities of the famous journey. These ample notes came into the possession of the late Mr. Arthur M. Knapp, of the Boston Public Library, and in the name of Mr. Dean's daughter, Miss Abbie W. Dean, he caused them to be placed in the archives of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

But since the passing away of Mr. Dean, new sources of information have been opened, which throw much light upon the subject. Notably we may mention the Index of Suffolk County Deeds, not only an ample Index of Grantors and Grantees, but of "Other Persons," which brings people to light, transactions to view, and metes, bounds and abutters, that add much information to every page of the realty interests of Boston. The Index at the office of the Clerk of County Courts is also of large value; this is one of the inspirations of the late John Noble and his faithful assistant, the late Mr. William P. Upham. The archives at Norwich and New London, also, are to-day accessible, but were denied

the eye of Mr. Dean, to whose zeal and devotion we can only pay grateful tribute. With these new sources a wider view of the times of Madam Knight is opened to us.

It is not for us to proceed further in our research concerning her, but some future student will have an ample field for study. None more fruitful can be cultivated. It touches the social and economic life of two centuries ago, and whoever can add to what has already been accomplished, by way of new research and new studies, will make a valuable contribution to the lore of New England life.*

Sarah Knight was a woman of remarkable faculties for observation; she was familiar with the best things of Boston. She knew nothing of the lesser comforts of the more humble sort of people. Her Diary proves this. The discomforts of the road and the entertainment of the average tavern, and the mingling with the

* In 1855 the Hon. Edward Everett contributed a series of articles to the files of the *New York Ledger*, entitled "The Mount Vernon Papers," and in No. 20 of the series he treats of "Travelling in Former Days," and draws quite extensively from Madam Knight's Diary. These papers of Mr. Everett are rich in observation and elegant in description. They evidently were composed when his mind was in its lighter vein. They are full of real worth. Many more words in comment and annotation could be added on this Diary. The last word has not yet been written. New material is frequently coming to light and studied afresh, and the time will come when these scattered data, brought together, will serve as the foundation of a worthy reproduction of the known portion of the Diary, supplemented by notes commensurate with its interest.

toiling crowd were not at all to her taste. In her private writings, if not in her conversation, she was often querulous and fault-finding, and was not always at ease. Her Diary discloses her brilliancy and her intellectual gifts; but it also portrays a temper not always serene and placid. It was irksome for her to live among people outside the range of her own social station. On the road she travelled, she often met with those with whom she or her near friends were intimate, and whether she came in upon them by day or night, she was always welcome.

The journey which her Diary records, took place in the autumn and winter of 1704. Her route was from Boston to Providence, Stonington, New London, Saybrook, Killingsworth and New Haven, and thence to New York City. She travelled on horseback, over the "Old Colony Path" to Providence, and thence by the "Pequot Path" to Westerly and Stonington. These "paths" usually followed the trails of the Indians, and in turn, in a large sense, became the foundation of the turnpikes of later years.

In 1702, Judge Sewall in his Diary speaks of lodging at the Billings Tavern, "in the Cart-way," which shows that carts were coming into use, and that the widening of the paths for their accommodation had begun. They are often called "bridle paths" because their use was for walking and horse-back riding. The single or "Indian file" method was prevalent. With the advancing years,

the paths were widened, and carts were used for local purposes, and it was not long before wagons and chaises appeared. The stage-coach then became the method of travel, which remained until steam made the railroad possible. The journey of two centuries ago, which took several days, is now performed in less than a day. The narrow paths, without bridges over streams, necessitated travel by day and rest by night. There were dangers by the way and in the way. All of these made the taverns a great necessity for every community along the usual routes. Our steam cars, electrics and automobiles have indeed set aside the methods of the fathers.

Nothing has been found to prove that the object of the journey was the conveyance of the money or personal effects of Caleb Trowbridge to his father and brothers, but all available data seem to confirm this interpretation. She also had other legal duties to attend to, in the interests of the Trowbridge estate and that of her brother, Henry Kemble, who had deceased in New York City a few years before.

Caleb Trowbridge, a son of Thomas Trowbridge, who was a cousin of Madam Knight, was born in New Haven in 1670. He came to Boston on a visit to a kinsman, and there became acquainted with Mary Lillie, a young widow, the daughter of Henry Emmes, the Messenger of the General Court. She resided in the house of Madam Knight, and married Caleb July 19, 1704; but less than two months of married life

was given him, and he deceased in Boston, September 10, 1704. He had no real estate in Boston or vicinity, and apparently no occupation ; but he was a person of means, and without doubt in poor health. Three weeks after his death Madam Knight began her journey to New Haven, the home of the Trowbridge family.

The kinship of Madam Knight with the Prouts and Trowbridges was through the family of Henry Rutherford, who had several daughters. The Prout family of Boston was prominent — often holding positions in Colonial and County affairs, which suggests a reason why Madam Knight was in easy access to the offices of State. Her cousin, John Prout, of New Haven, was a graduate of Yale College, and for a series of years Treasurer of the Corporation. Sarah Prout, who married Christopher Christophers, in New Haven, in 1711, was also a cousin, who administered upon the estate, and through whom came down to us the few relics of this notable family. Many of the letters and family papers were in existence a century ago, but a cruel fate awaited them, and they are no more.

The route of Madam Knight from Boston to New York must ever be full of interest. That ancient trail, cart-path, turnpike or State road between those towns on the Atlantic seaboard will ever be fraught with historical suggestions. If we were to follow her journey in our later day, amid the luxuries of modern conven-

iences, we are confident that our minds would turn backward to the more primitive modes. The distance by the trail from Boston to New York is 271 miles, to New London 119, and from New London to New York 152 miles.

She left Boston on Monday, October 2, 1704, at three o'clock in the afternoon, starting at this time in order to meet at Dedham the post-boy from the west, and journey with him towards Providence; but in this she was disappointed, so after a visit to the home of the Rev. Mr. Belcher, the minister at Dedham, she set forth for Billings's Tavern, twelve miles further, in the southern portion of the town of Sharon. This hostlery was famous. It was the stopping-place of Judge Sewall, as noted in his Diary, and of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. It had been a tavern many years, and continued as such until comparatively recent times.

Her Diary records conversations she overheard, giving the vernacular, and as near as possible the pronunciation of the people. We suspect that her descriptions are somewhat exaggerated; she was accustomed to more cultivated forms of speech and manners, and those of the yeoman folk were quaint and new to her. She was getting in touch with a side of life which she had not known before.

The next day* she pushed forward to where Posts met for the exchange of letters; thence to Pawtucket,

* See Appendix A.

where there was a semblance of a bridge, and where she passed out of the Massachusetts Bay Province. She proceeded through Providence, Pawtuxet and Greenwich, and got to Haven's tavern, in North Kingston, to remain over night. Here was a clean and comfortable house. The hostess was ready to welcome her with *chocolat*, and her bed, though hard, was "neat and handsome." But her chamber adjoined a room full of town toppers, who, she writes, discussed with earnestness the meaning of the word "Narraganset." The record of the Diary for this day is a contribution to the nomenclature of New England. Amid the restless hours of the night, she wrote:—

I ask thy Aid, O, Potent Rum,
To Charm these wrangling Topers Dum;
Thou hast their giddy Brains beset —
The man confounded with the Beast,
And I, poor I, can get no rest.
Intoxicate them with thy Fumes;
O! still their Tongues till Morning comes.

On Wednesday morning, at four o'clock, with the Post and a French doctor she left Kingston. These companions were too much for her as travellers, and she fell behind them; but after twenty-two miles they came to Davol's tavern, sometime called Cross Mill, and often Devils; and Madam Knight thought the family rightly named. The Paukataug River presented obstacles, but on she went and was glad to reach Captain

Joseph Saxton's, in the town of Stonington, three miles east of Mystic.

On Thursday evening she arrived at New London, and immediately repaired to the home of Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall, the minister of the place, where a welcome awaited her. The ease and confidence with which she went to this home shows at once the free and generous hospitality of people among the higher quality of the town's-folk. This was the expected thing; the door was ever open, and the welcome cordial to people of gentle breeding. Among those of lesser quality, it is said, "the latch-string was ever outward hung." But to be "given to hospitality," whatever the social station, was a characteristic of the elder days. The house-wife's nature ever prompted her to provide extra bread and meats, as well as the spare chamber.

Mr. Saltonstall and Madam Knight were acquainted with each other, — he being of Boston and Watertown, and his good wife a woman having many eminent connections in Hartford and Boston. On the decease of Governor Winthrop in 1707, Mr. Saltonstall became Governor of Connecticut. Little did Madam Knight realize, on her visit to New London, on that October night in 1704, that in ten years she herself would be a resident of this new seaport, a neighbor of Governor Saltonstall, and a merchant showing a business sagacity scarcely equalled by any of the merchant mariners of that goodly town.

Colonel Livingston became the husband of her daughter, and their residence in New London was a seat of elegance. Reverses came to him, but somehow the business ability and security which Madam Knight was able to render saved a remnant of his estate.

In the ancient and beautiful cemetery of the town Mrs. Livingston and Madam Knight are buried, and grave-stones still mark their resting-place. No finer view of New London harbor can be gained than from this old burial-place. The ancient meeting-house was near, and this was indeed the centre of the life of the town. To-day the attractive park with its ample landscape gives a freshness and glow to the feelings of humanity. The historic associations stimulate, and the joy of the view invigorates the visitor, making the old things new. New London is indeed a treasure-town, lovely in its scenery, rich in memories of the past, and abounding in all that makes enduring the finer living of the nation.

But we have tarried too long in New London. The morning hours of Friday, October 6th, found Madam Knight ready for her journey. Mr. Saltonstall obtained Joshua Wheeler to go with her to New Haven. The close of the day brought them to Killingsworth, with new experiences, some of which were evidently disturbing to the lady's disposition; and the next day, Saturday, she and her guide rode into New Haven, a distance of twenty-two miles. Nothing is said as to her place of

entertainment, but it is known that she was the guest of her kinsfolk, the Trowbridge family—among the leaders of the town in culture, wealth and position. In the weeks she was there she had ample opportunity to chronicle her opinions concerning the society, laws and living of the New Haven Colony, and many of her paragraphs are rich and graphic in description.

Tuesday, December 6th, she set forth for New York* with her kinsman, Thomas Trowbridge. Her business there was to settle the estate of her brother and probably that of Captain Trowbridge, as already mentioned. Her route led her through Stamford and Norwalk, and she remained over the night in a Huguenot family in Rye, where French cooking was her undoing, and “her poor carcas” was never more tired. The next morning the company was off early, got their breakfast at New Rochelle, and about an hour before sunset reached New York. She went at once to the house of a Mr. Burroughs, who had been recommended by her kinsman, Captain Joshua Prout, who was at that time Register of Deeds and the Probate Court in Boston.

Her stay in New York was of two weeks’ duration.† Her comments upon the town, its buildings, its churches, its social life, are altogether too brief for our desires; but such as they are, they show her to have been a keen and lively observer of the life about her. Her return

* See Appendix B.

† See Appendix C.

to New Haven had enlivening incidents, quaint and queer to her, and in the light of to-day they testify to the economic and social condition of the every-day sort of people.

In February, 1704/5, she set forth on her return to Boston.* Her kinsman escorted her across the frozen harbor, and on the evening of the following day she was once more at the homestead of Mr. Saltonstall, in New London, where she tarried to pay homage to the family of Governor Winthrop and his daughter, Mrs. Livingston. But she was eager to get back to Boston. The first night she spent at Stonington, and the next at Haven's, both of which she describes in her outward journey. Her guide, Samuel Rogers of New London, rendered her good service in crossing the rivers, but rejoiced was she to get once more on the soil of Massachusetts.

At Billings's she met Captain John Richards of Boston, and was glad of his company. She must have ridden her horse severely this day, for as she was entering into Dedham he fell dead in the path; and instead of reaching Boston that evening, as she hoped, she was obliged to remain over night at the Draper Inn in Dedham. The next day, March 3rd, she came to Boston, and as her Diary says: "I found my aged and tender Mother and my dear and only Child in good health with open

* See Appendix D.

arms ready to receive me ; and my kind relations and friends flocking in to welcome me and hear the story of my transactions and travels, I having this day been five months from home, and now I cannot fully express my joy and satisfaction. But desire sincerely to adore my great Benefactor for thus graciously carrying forth and returning in safety his unworthy handmaid."

Our closing word is an exhortation to students carefully to observe the historic spirit in discussing the doings of the former days. To put ourselves back, in thought, several generations, is no easy task, for in the passing years every phase of life has repeatedly been changed. Many strong men have come forward and set a fresh pace in the world's affairs. Men come and men go ; questions rise, are fought over, and then are left behind and forgotten. Great stakes are played for by nations, maps are changed, and so the world goes on. Happy is he who can calmly recall and live over again the ancient days, and learn therefrom their greatest lessons.

The glory of historical organizations lies in the fact that they are the storehouses of men's labors. Here, within easy access, the busy man of to-day can readily collate other data and other opinions formed in days when a different point of view influenced the actors, and from these present new facts and more impartial judgments of his own. In Boston we began none too

soon. Our archives are none too large. More ample resources are the demand of students. Former times are to be studied in the future as never before. Histories will be re-written, and new ideas obtained of the noble and worthy men of the early days. Our part is small, but it calls for faithfulness; the way is narrow, but it demands studiousness. The historian and the antiquary render a service to humanity second to none among the teachers of men. They survey life in its largeness; they reveal the motives that governed the leaders in the former days; they marshal great occasions, and so are able to outline the fresher duties of each oncoming generation.



APPENDIX

WE give below a few extracts from the Diary, recording her experiences at different points mentioned in the preceding paper, which will give the reader an idea of Madam Knight's graphic descriptions : —

A

"Tuesday, October ye third about 8 in the morning, I with the Post proceeded forward without observing anything remarkable. And about two, afternoon, arrived at the Post's second stage, where the western Post met him and exchanged Letters. Here having called for something to eat, ye woman brot in a Twisted thing like a cable, but something whiter, and laying it on the bord, tugg'd for life to bring it into a capacity to spread, wch having wth great pains accomplished shee serv'd in a dish of Pork and Cabage, I suppose the remains of Dinner. The sause was of a deep Purple, wch I tho't was boil'd in her dye Kettle, the bread was Indian, and every thing on the Table service, agreeable to these. I being hungry gott a little down, but my stomach was soon cloy'd, and what cabbage I swalled served me for a Cudd the whole day after."

B

"Decr 6 [1704]. Being by this time well Recruited and rested after my journey, my business lying unfinished by some concerns at New York depending thereupon, my Kinsman, Mr. Thomas Trowbridge of New Haven, must needs take a Journey there before it could be accomplished. I resolved to go there in company wth him, and a man of the town wch I engaged to wait on me there. Accordingly, Decr 6, we set out from New Haven, and about 11 same morning came to Stratford ferry, wch crossing, about two miles on the other side Baited our horses and would have eat a morsell ourselves, But the Pumpkin and Indian mixt Bred had such an Aspect, and the Bare-legg'd Punch so awkerd or rather Awfull a sound, that we left both and

proceeded forward, and about seven at night come to Fairfield, where we met with good entertainment and Lodg'd; and early next morning set forward to Norrwalk, from its halfe Indian name North-walk, when about 12 at noon we arrived, and Had a Dinner of Fryed Venison, very savoury. Landlady wanting some pepper in the seasoning, bid the Girl hand her the spice in the little *Tay* cupp on ye shelfe. From hence we Hasted towards Rye, walking and Leading our Horses neer a mile together up a prodigious high Hill, and so Riding till about nine at night, and there arrived and took up our Lodgins at an Ordinary, wch a French family kept. Here being very hungry, I desired a frigasse, wch the Frenchman undertaking, mannaged so contrary to my notion of Cookery, that I hastned to Bed supperless, And being shewed the way up a pair of stairs wch had such a narrow passage that I had almost stopt by the Bulk of my Body; But arriving at my apartment found it to be a little Leanto Chamber furnisht amongst other Rubbish with a High Bedd, and a Low one, a Long Table, a Bench and a Bottomless Chair. Little Miss went to scratch up my Kennell wch Russelled as if shee'd been in the Barn amongst the Husks, and supose such was the contents of the ticking, never the less being exceeding weary, down I laid my poor carkes (never more tired) and found my Covering as scanty as my Bed was hard. Anon I heard another Russelling noise in ye Room, called to know the matter. Little Miss said shee was making a bed for the men, who when they were in Bed, complained their leggs lay out of it by reason of its shortness; my poor bones complained bitterly not being used to such Lodgings, and so did the man who was with us, and poor I made but one Grone, which was from the time I went to bed to the time I Riss, which was about three in the morning, setting up by the Fire till Light, and having discharged our Ordinary wch was as dear as if we had had better fare, we took our leave of Monsier, and about seven in the morn came to New Rochell, a french town where we had a good Breakfast. And in the strength of that, about an how'r before sunsett got to York. Here I applyd myself to Mr. Burroughs, to whom I was recommended by my kinsman Capt. Prout, and received with great Civilities from him and his spouse, who were both Deaf but very agreeable in their Conversation."

C

"The Cittie of New York is a pleasant, well compacted place, situated on a Commodius River, wch is a fine harbour for shipping. The Buildings Brick Generally, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. . . .

"Their Diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleys about three or four Miles out of Town where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery, and some go to friends Houses who handsomely treat them. Mr. Borrongs carr'd his spouse and Daughter and myself out to one Madam Dowes, a Gentle woman, that lived at a farm House, who gave us a handsome Entertainment of five or six Dishes, and choice Beer and metheglin, Cyder, &c., all which she said was the produce of her farm. I believe we mett 50 or 60 slays that day; they fly with great swiftness and some are so furious that they'le turn out of the path for none except a Loaden Cart. Nor do they spare any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, they'r Tables being as free to their Neighbours as to them selves. . . .

"Having here transacted the affair I went upon and some other that fell in the way, after about a fortnight's stay there I left New York with no Little regret, and Thursday Dec. 21, set out for New Haven wth my Kinsman Trowbridge, and the man that waited on me, about one, afternoon, aud about three come to half-way house about ten miles out of town, where we Baited and went forward, and about 5 come to Spiting Devil, Else King's Bridge, where we pay three pence for passing over with a horse, which the man that keeps the Gate set up at the end of the Bridge receives. . . .

"Jan. 6th [1704-05]. Being now well Recruited and fitt for business I discoursed the persons I was concerned with, that we might finish in order to my return to Boston. They delayd as they had hitherto done hoping to tire my patience. But I was resolute to stay and see an End of the matter let it be never so much to my disadvantage. So January 9th they come again and promise the Wednesday following to go through with the distribution of the Estate which they delayed till Thursday and then come with new amusements. But at length by the mediation of that holy good Gentleman, the Rev. Mr.

James Pierpont, the minister of New Haven, and with the advice and assistance of other our Good friends, we come to an accommodation and distribution which having finished though not to February, the man that waited on me to New York taking charge of me I set out for Boston."

It would appear that the settlement of what may be called the Trowbridge estate, though through the intricacies of family relationships and undivided inheritances it involved estates under several family names, was most difficult to bring to a conclusion. But Madam Knight was thoroughly versed in the laws of inheritance and the transfer of properties, and her New Haven kinsmen found in her a woman of rare skill and acumen. She was not to be cajoled by "amusements" nor entertainments, but with her own counsels, and the intercession of the minister of the town, brought her affairs to an end.

D

"We went from New Haven upon the ice (the ferry being not passable thereby), and the Rev. Mr. Pierpont with Madam Prout, Cusin Trowbridge and divers others were taking leave. Wee went onward without any-thing Remarkable till wee come to New London and Lodged again at Mr. Saltonstalls, and here I dismist my Guide, and my Generos entertainer provided me Mr. Samuel Rogers of that place to go home with me. I stayed a day longer than I intended by the Commands of the Honble Governor Winthrop to stay and take Supper with him whose wonderful civility I may not omitt. The next morning I Crossed ye Ferry to Groton, having had the Honor of the Company of Madam Livingston (who is the Governors Daughter), and Mary Christophers and divers others to the boat. And that night Lodgd at Stonington and had Rost Beef and pumpkin sause for supper. The next night at Haven's and had Rost fowle—and the day we come to a river which by Reason of ye Freshetts coming down so swelld so high wee feard it impassable and the rapid stream was very terryfying. However we must go over and that in a small Cannoo."

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

FOR A MAP OF THE

“FOUR NEW ENGLAND STATES”

1784

1st The French Map of the Knowledge - & Accuracy - & Subscriptions is printed in full length on
 a French Map of the Four New England States, in large Ital. Dimensions for full space
 to be completed from the late Collection taken from Actual Survey by Robert Johnson,
 Quaker & others who were Employed by the British Government. Conditions as follows -
 2nd No money to be paid by the Subscribers, till the Work is Completed to Order
 3rd The Plates to be open for Quotations & Additions, till January 1st 1788. for any who may please
 to favour us with their Offerings -
 4th The greatest Care will be taken, that the Engraving will be Equal to European Maps, & Engraved
 on a Paper adapted for that use -
 5th The Price & Subscribers when finished & Delivered in Fourteen Shilling each -
 6th The undersigned declares, that no Maps will be sold under English Privilege, to those who are
 our Subscribers, the preference of Four Shillings being given to Subscribers, after early receiving
 this undertaking. We the Subscribers agree to take the Number of Maps
 in Office to our Names.

[illegible]

[illegible]



SUBSCRIPTION LIST
FOR A MAP OF THE
"FOUR NEW ENGLAND STATES"
1785

FROM AN ORIGINAL LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS IN THE SOCIETY'S
COLLECTIONS



HIS list of subscribers to a map of New England of which little is known is of great interest. The following introduction is furnished by one of our members, Mr. W. K. Watkins, from the pages of the *Independent Chronicle*, and other sources :—

17 Feb., 1785: "Subscriptions are taken by all the Booksellers in Boston, Deacon Jones (Daniel) in State Street; the ministers in several parishes; also at the office of Norman and Coles, the Publishers, in Marshall's Lane near the Boston Stone."

The scale of the map, one inch to five miles, made a map nearly six feet square which on 31 March was announced as being completed as to the engraving and committed to the press and would be ready for delivery in ten days. Subscription papers were to be sent in to the Post Office near the town house and the "Map office" in Marshall's Lane, formerly the office of the Boston Magazine.

14 April it was announced "as this day published the great New Map of the sea coast and the interior parts of the four New England States."

17 May: "The New Map of the four Eastern States of America" was advertised as being delivered to subscribers at the Map Office. It had been carefully compared with Major Holland's surveys, and the American Atlas, by "John Leach, Surveyor and Teacher of the Mathematics."

From this information we can say that the map was drawn by John Leach, who had a navigation school in North Latin School (North Bennett) Street. It was engraved by John Norman, the engraver, on his severing his connection with the Boston Magazine. Associated with Norman as publisher was John Coles, the painter of heraldic fame.

In 1794 there was published in London, by Laurie & Whittle, a map of the same territory on about the same scale.

An interesting letter to the publishers of the map by Rev. Jeremy Belknap is to be found in the manuscript collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The subscribers included not only the names of Hancock, Lafayette, Knox, Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, James Sullivan, Benjamin Lincoln, John Brooks, and Robert Treat Paine, but many others prominent at that time.

The map is not credited to Norman in the list of works engraved by him. The only copy I have discovered so far is at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

This document is a loan to our collections from our member, Mr. William Sumner Appleton, who kindly permits its reproduction.

Boston Octo: 4: 1784.

To promote useful Knowledge in America: A Subscription is opened, for publishing an Accurate Map of the Four New England States, on a large Scale, Dimensions six feet square, to be Compiled from the latest Collections, taken from Actual Surveys: by Holland, Jeffries, Evans & others; who were Employed by the British Government. Conditions as follows —

1st No money to be paid by the Subscribers, 'till the Work is Completed & Delivered.

2^d The plates to be open for Corrections & Additions, 'till January 1 : 1785, for any who may please to furnish us with their Assistance.

3^d The greatest Care will be taken, that the Engraving will be Equal to European Maps, & Executed on a Paper adapted for that use.

4th The price to Subscribers, when finished & Coloured, is Fourteen shillings Each.

5th The undertakers determine, that no Maps will be fold under Eighteen shillings, to those who are not Subscribers, the preference of Four shillings being given to Subscribers, who early encourage this undertaking.

We the Subscribers agree to take the Number of Maps we affix to our Names.

John Hancock Three

James Bowdoin		John Codman	one
de Letombe	2	Abiel Smith	one
John Mary	one	Leonard Jarvis	two
F. Rotch	3	Sam Breck	two
Nath ^l Appleton	one	Perez Morton	one
Caleb Davis	one	Benj Lincoln Jun	one
Tho ^s Dawes	one	Davis & Pitts	two
John Rowe	one	B. C. Cutler	one
Moses Gill	Two	Daniel Sargent	3
Thomas Rufsell	Two	Robert McNeill	1
W ^m Sever.		And ^w Black	one
William Graham		John Alden, Dartmouth	1
John R. Livingston	one	And ^w Hall	one
W ^m D. Peck	one	W ^m . Deblois	One

John ^a Dolbeare	one	John Codman Jun ^r	one
Nath. Gorham	one	Jon L. Austin	one
Thomas Cushing		Mungo Mackay	
B. Lincoln	2	Sam. Cabot	one
Lafayette	8	John Amory	
James Sullivan		Tho ^s Walley	one
Sam ^l Adams		Thomas Mery	one
John Leach	one	J. Lowell	
Charles Chauncy	one	Will Powell	
Stephen Higginson		Rob ^t Treat Paine	one
Jon ^a French	one Andover	And ^w Brimmer	one
Isaiah Doane	one	W ^m Tudor	
John Wheelwright	one	Jonathan Mason Jun ^r	
Elisha Doane	one	James Hughes	one
John Coffin Jones		Lewis Deblois	one
John Brown	one	Jon ^a Mafon	one
E. Watson Jr	one	Joseph Ward	one
Samuel Barrett	one	Stephen Miller	one
Sam ^l Phillips jun ^r	One	Joseph Hall	one
Nathan Dane	one	Stephen Hall	one
H. Knox	one	Joshua Eaton	one
Tho ^s Fayerweather	one	Francis Mulligan	one
Israel Keith.	One	Jn. Bishop Jr.	one
F. Vernon	one	Aaron Putnam	one
Gideon Baty —	one	John Bishop	one
Joseph Willard	one	David Osgood	one
John Augusta Dunn	one	Jonathan Porter	one
James Perry. East Town	one	John Bishop	one
Jos. P. Palmer	one	Paul Junkins	one
do	one	Jacob Bradbury	one
Luke Baker	one	Eben ^r . Wafburn	one
Jefse Putnam	one	Amos Putnam	one
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